

WONDERFUL  
DISCOVERIE OF  
WITCHES IN THE COUN-  
TIE OF LAN-  
CASTER.

With the Arraignement and Triall of  
Notorious WITCHES, at the Assizes and  
generall Gaole delivrie, holden at the Castle of  
LANCASTER, upon *Munday, the se-*  
*venteenth of August last,*  
1612.

Before Sir JAMES ALTHAM,  
Sir EDWARD BARNES, Knight, BARON of the  
Mare, Comor of Exchequer: And Iudices  
of Assize, Oyer and Terminor, and general  
Iudges in the Circuit of the  
County of Lancaster.

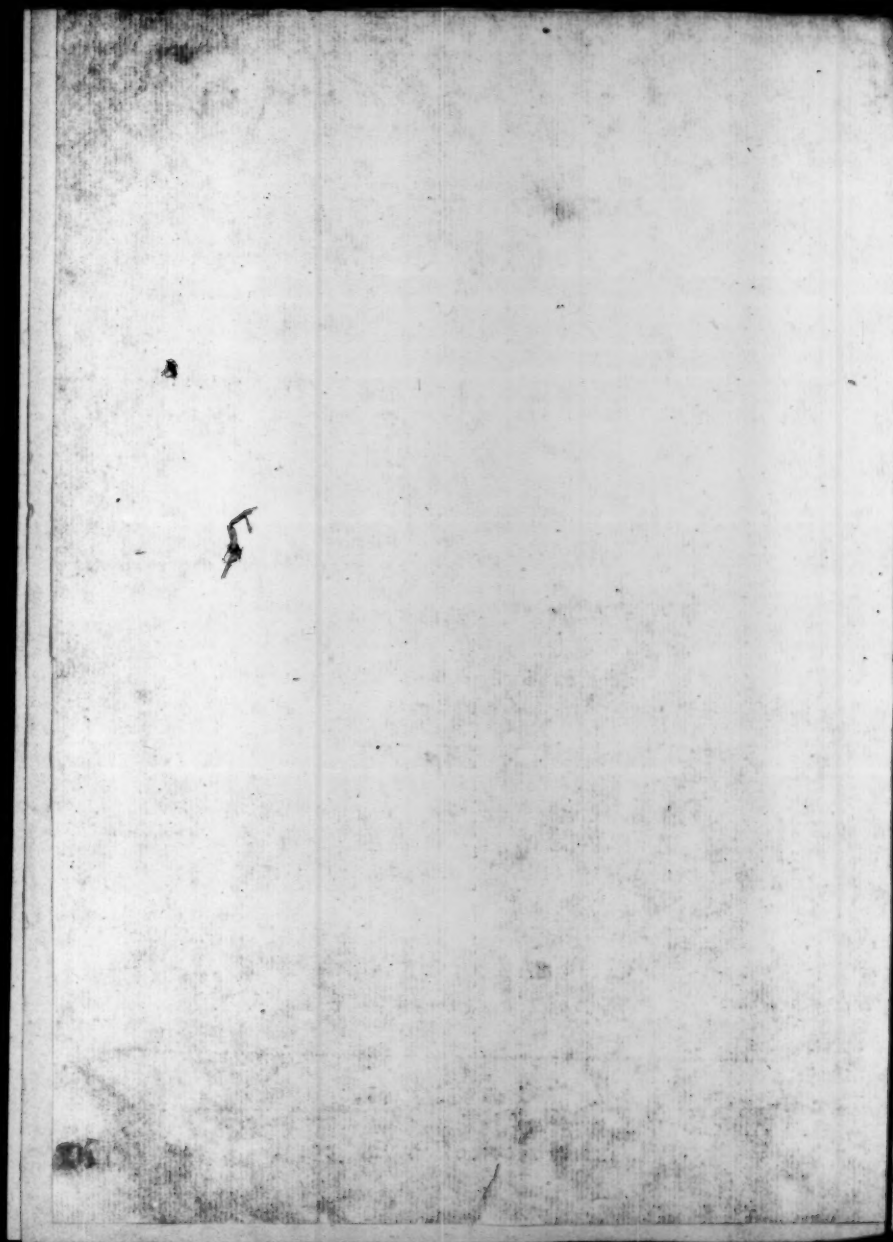
Together with the Arraignement and Triall of JENNET  
PRESTON, at the Assizes holden at the Castle of York,  
the seven and twentieth day of *June last*,  
with her Examination for the murder  
of Master L. *1611*  
*by W. B. 1612*

Published and set forth by commandement of his Maiesties  
Iudices of Assize in the North Part.  
By THOMAS FORTES *Printer.*

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LONDON.

Printed by *W. B. 1612* at the Signe of the *1612*  
*1612*





TO THE RIGHT HO-  
NORABLE, THOMAS, LORD  
KNYVET, BARON OF ESCRICK  
in the Countie of Yorke, my very honorable  
*good Lord and Master.*

AND  
TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE  
AND VERTVOVS LADIE, THE  
*Ladie ELIZABETH KNYVET his Wife, my*  
*honorable good Ladie and*  
*MISTRIS.*

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RIGHT HONORABLE,

**L**ET it stand (I beseech  
you) with your fauours  
whom profession of the  
same true Religion to-  
wards God, and so great  
loue hath vnited together in one, Jointly  
to

May 90 T. B. 1613  
Gen. Sec.

## The Epistle

to accept the Protection and Patronage of these my labours, which not their owne worth hath encouraged, but your Worthinesse hath enforced me to consecrate vnto your Honours.

To you (Right Honourable my very good Lord) of Right doe they belong: for to whom shall I rather present the first fruits of my learning then to your Lordship: who nourished then both mee and them, when there was scarce any being to mee or them? And whose iust and vpright carriage of causes, whose Zeale to Justice and Honourable curtesie to all men, haue purchased you a Reuerend and worthie Respect of all men in all partes of this Kingdome, where you are knowne. And to your good Ladiship they

## Dedicatorie.

they doe of great right belong likewise;  
Whose Religion, Iustice, and Honourable  
admittance of my Vnworthie Seruice  
to your Ladiship doe challenge at my  
bandes the vttermost of what euer I  
may bee able to performe.

Here is nothing of my own act worthie  
to bee commended to your Honours, it is  
the worke, of those Reuerend Ma-  
gistrates, His Maiesties Iustices of  
Assizes in the North partes, and no  
more then a Particular Declaration  
of the proceedings of Iustice in those  
partes. Here shall you behold the lu-  
stice of this Land, truely administred,  
Proœmium & Pœnam, Mercie and  
Iudgement, freely and indifferently  
bestowed and inflicted; And aboue all  
things

## The Epistle

*things to bee remembred, the excellent care of these Iudges in the Triall of offenders.*

*It hath pleased them out of their respect to mee to impose this worke vpon mee, and according to my vnderstanding, I haue taken paines to finish, and now confirmed by their Iudgement to publish the same, for the benefit of my Countrie. That the example of these conuicted vpon their owne Examinations, Confessions, and Euidence at the Barre, may worke good in others, Rather by with-holding them from, then imboldening them to, the Atcheiuing such desperate actes as these or the like.*

*These are some part of the fruits of my time spent in the Seruice of my Countrie,*

## Dedicatorie.

trie, Since by your Graue and Renerend  
Counsell ( my Good Lord ) I reduced my  
trauering and wandring thoughts to a  
more quiet harbour of repose.

If it please your Honours to giue them  
your Honourable respect, the world may  
iudge them the more worthie of accep-  
tance, to whose various censures they are  
now exposed.

God of Heauen whose eies are on  
them that feare him, to bee their Prote-  
ctor and guide, behold your Honours with  
the eye of fauor, be euermore your strong  
hold, and your great reward, and blesse  
you with blessings in this life, Externall  
and Internall, Temporall and Spirituall,  
and with Eternall happines in the World  
to come : to which I commend your Ho-

A

nours;

nours; And rest both now and euer, From  
my Lodging in Chancerie Lane, the six-  
teenth of November 1612.

Your Honours

humbly deuoted

Seruant,

Thomas Potts.



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**V**Pon the Arraignement and  
triall of these VVitches at the  
last Assizes and Generall  
Gaole-deliuerie, holden at  
Lancaster, wee found such apparent  
matters against them, that we thought  
it necessarie to publish them to the  
VVorld, and thereupon imposed the  
labour of this VVorke vpon this Gen-  
tleman, by reason of his place, being a  
Clerke at that time in Court, imploi-  
ed in the Arraignement and triall of  
them.

*Ja. Altham.*

*Edw. Bromley.*

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**A**fter he had taken great paines  
to finish it, I tooke vpon mee to  
reuiſe and correct it, that no-  
thing might paſſe but matter of Fact, ap-  
parant againſt them by record. It is very  
little he hath inserted, and that neceſſa-  
rie, to ſhew what their offences were, what  
people, and of what condition they were:  
The whole proceedings and Euidence a-  
gainſt them, I finde vpon examination  
carefully ſet forth, and truely reported,  
and iudge the worke fit and worthie to  
be publiſhed.

Edward Bromley.

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### Faults escaped in the Printing.

Page, C 3: M.Banester, for Bannester, brough, for brought.  
Page, E 1 This people, for these. Page, H Here they parted, for there. page, K 1 these, for this hellish. page, S 3 In the Verdict of Life and Death, Not guiltie, for guiltie. page, S 3 one Horse or Mare, for one Mare in the Indictment. page eadem, for the Triall of her life, reade for the triall of her offence. page, T their view, for your view.

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Gentle Reader, although the care of this Gentleman the Author, was great to examine and publish this his worke perfect according to the Honorable testimonie of the Iudges, yet some faults are committed by me in the Printing, and yet not many, being a worke done in such great haste, at the end of a Tearme, which I pray you, with your fauour to excuse.

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A particular Declaration of  
the most barberous and damnable Practises, Mur-  
thers, wicked and diuelish Conspiracies, practized  
*and executed by the most dangerous and malicious*  
*Witch Elizabeth Sowthernes alias Demdike,*  
of the Forrest of *Pondle* in the Countie of  
*Lancaster* Widdow, who died in the  
Castle at *Lancaster* before she  
came to receiue her tryall.



Though publique Iustice hath passed  
at these Assises vpon the Capitall  
offendours, and after the Arraigne-  
ment & tryall of them, Iudgement  
being giuen, due and timely Execu-  
tion succeeded; which doth im-  
port and giue the greatest satisfacti-  
on that can be, to all men; yet be-  
cause vpon the caryage, and euent of this businesse, the  
Eyes of all the partes of *Lancashire*, and other Counties  
in the North partes thereunto adioyning were bent: And  
so infinite a multitude came to the Arraignement & tryall  
of these Witches at *Lancaster*, the number of them being  
knowen to exceed all others at any time heretofore, at one  
time to be indicted, arraigned, and receiue their tryall, es-  
pecially for so many Murders, Conspiracies, Charmes,  
Meetinges, hellish and damnable practises, so apparant  
vpon their owne examinations & confessions. These my  
honourable & worthy Lords, the Iudges of Assise, vpon

B.

great

*The Arraignement and Tryall*

great consideration, thought it necessarie & profitable, to publish to the whole world, their most barbarous and damnable practises, with the direct proceedings of the Court against them, as well for that there doe passe diuers vncertaine reportes and relations of such Euidences, as was publicly giuen against them at their Arraignement. As for that diuers came to prosecute against many of them that were not found guiltie, and so rest very discontented, and not satisfied. As also for that it is necessary for men to know and vnderstande the meanes whereby they worke their mischiefe, the hidden misteries of their diuelish and wicked Inchauntements, Charmes, and Sorceries, the better to preuent and auoyde the danger that may ensue. And lastly, who were the principall authors and actors in this late woefull and lamentable *Tragedie*, wherein so much Blood was spilt.

Therefore I pray you giue me leaue, (with your patience and fauour,) before I proceed to the Indictment, Arraignement, and Tryall of such as were Prisoners in the Castle, to lay open the life and death of this damnable and malicious Witch, of so long continuance (old *Demdike*) of whom our whole businesse hath such dependance, that without the particular Declaration and Record of her Euidence, with the circumstances, wee shall neuer bring any thing to good perfection: for from this Sincke of villanie and mischiefe, haue all the rest proceeded as you shall haue them in order.

She was a very old woman, about the age of Fourscore yeares, and had been a Witch for fiftie yeares. Shee dwelt in the Forrest of *Pendle*, a vaste place, fitt for her profession: What shee committed in her time, no man knowes.

Thus liued shee securely for many yeares, brought vp her

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

her owne Children, instructed her Graund-children, and tooke great care and paines to bring them to be Witches. Sliee was a generall agent for the Deuill in all these partes: no man escaped her, or her Furies, that euer gaue them any occasion of offence, or denyed them any thing they stood need of: And certayne it is, no man neere them, was secure or free from danger.

But God, who had in his diuine prouidence provided to cut them off, and roote them out of the Commonwealth, so disposed aboue, that the Iustices of those partes, vnderstanding by a generall charme and muttering, the great and vniuersall resort to *Maulking Tower*, the common opinion, with the report of these suspected people, the complaint of the Kinges subiectes for the losse of their Children, Friendes, Goodes, and Cattle, (as there could not be so great Fire without some Smoake,) sent for some of the Countrey, and tooke great paynes to enquire after their proceedinges, and courses of life.

In the end, *Roger Nowell* Esquire, one of his Maiesties Iustices in these partes, a very religious honest Gentleman, painefull in the seruice of his Countrey: whose fame for this great seruice to his Countrey, shall liue after him, tooke vpon him to enter into the particular examination of these suspected persons: And to the honour of God, and the great comfort of all his Countrey, made such a discouery of them in order, as the like hath not been heard of: which for your better satisfaction, I haue heere placed in order against her, as they are vpon Record, amongst the Recordes of the *Crowne at Lancaster*, certified by *M. Nowell*, and others,



## The voluntarie Confession

and Examination of *Elizabeth Sowtherns* alias  
*Demdike*, taken at the fence in the For-  
rest of *Pendle* in the Countie  
of *Lancaster*.

The second day of Aprill, *Annoq; Regni Regis Iacobi Ang-  
lia. &c. Decimo, et Scotia Quadragesimo quinto*;  
Before *Roger Nowell* of *Reade* Esquire, one of his  
Maiesties Iustices of the peace with-  
in the sayd Countie. *Viz.*



He said *Elizabeth Sowtherns* confesseth, and  
sayth; That about twentie yeares past, as she  
was comming homeward from begging,  
there met her this Examinee neere vnto a  
Stonepit in *Gouldshey*, in the sayd Forrest of  
*Pendle*, a Spirit or Deuill in the shape of a Boy, the one  
halfe of his Coate blacke, and the other browne, who bade  
this Examinee stay, saying to her, that if she would giue  
him her Soule, she should haue any thing that she would  
request. Wherevpon this Examinee demaunded his name?  
and the Spirit answered, his name was *Tibb*: and so this  
Examinee in hope of such gaine as was promised by the  
sayd Deuill or *Tibb*, was contented to giue her Soule to the  
said Spirit: And for the space of fve or sixe yeares next af-  
ter, the sayd Spirit or Deuill appeared at sundry times vnto  
her this Examinee about *Day-light Gate*, alwayes bidding  
her stay, and asking her this Examinee what she would  
haue

haue or doe? To whom this Examinee replied, Nay nothing: for she this Examinee said, she wanted nothing yet. And so about the end of the said sixe yeares, vpon a Sabbath day in the morning, this Examinee hauing a litle Child vpon her knee, and she being in a slumber, the sayd Spirit appeared vnto her in the likenes of a browne Dogge, forcing himselfe to her knee, to get blood vnder her left Arme: and she being without any apparrell sauing her Smocke, the said Deuill did get blood vnder her left arme. And this Examinee awaking, sayd, *Iesus saue my Child*: but had no power, nor could not say, *Iesus saue her selfe*: wherevpon the Browne Dogge vanished out of this Examinats sight: after which, this Examinee was almost starke madd for the space of eight weekes.

And vpon her examination, she further confessed, and saith. That a little before Christm is last, this Examinates Daughter hauing been to helpe *Richard Baldwyns* Folkes at the Mill: This Examinates Daughter did bid her this Examinee goe to the said *Baldwyns* house, and aske him something for her helping of his Folkes at the Mill, (as aforesaid:) and in this Examinates going to the said *Baldwyns* house, and neere to the said house, she mette with the said *Richard Baldwyn*: Which *Baldwyn* sayd to this Examinee, and the said *Alizon Deuice* (who at that time ledde this Examinee, being blinde) get out of my ground Whores and Witches, I will burne the one of you, and hang the other. To whom this Examinee answered: I care not for thee, hang thy selfe: Presently wherevpon, at this Examinates going ouer the next hedge, the said Spirit or Deuill called *Tibb*, appeared vnto this Examinat, and sayd, *Reuenge thee of him*. To whom, this Examinee sayd againe to the said Spirit. *Reuenge thee eyther of him, or his*. And so the said Spirit vanished out of her sight, and she



# The Confession and Exami-

nation of Anne Whittle *alias* Chattox, being

Prisoner at Lancaster taken the 19. day of May,

*Annoq; Regni Regis Jacobi Anglia, Decimo:*

*ac Scotie Quadragesimo quinto:* Before

*William Sandes* Maior of the Bor-

rough towne of Lancaster.

*James Anderton* of Clayton, one of his Maiesties Iustices

of Peace within the same County, and *Thomas*

*Cowell* one of his Maiesties Coroners in

the sayd Countie of Lancaster.

*Viz.*

**F**irst, the sayd *Anne Whittle*, *alias Chattox*, sayth, that about foureteeen yeares past she entered, through the wicked perswasions and counsell of *Elizabeth Southern*, *alias Demdike*, and was seduced to condescend & agree to become subiect vnto that diuelish abhominable profession of Witchcraft: Soone after which, the Deuill appeared vnto her in the liknes of a Man, about midnight, at the house of the sayd *Demdike*: and therevpon the sayd *Demdike* and shee, went foorth of the said house vnto him; wherevpon the said wicked Spirit mooued this Examinee, that she would become his Subiect, and giue her Soule vnto him: the which at first, she refused to assent vnto; but after, by the great perswasions made by the sayd *Demdike*, shee yeelded to be at his commaundement and appoyntment: wherevpon the sayd wicked Spirit then sayd vnto her, that hee must haue one part of her body for him to sucke vpon; the which shee denyed then to graunt vnto him; and withall asked him,

*The Arraignement and Tryall*

him, what part of her body hee would haue for that vse; who said, hee would haue a place of her right side neere to her ribbes, for him to sucke vpon: whereunto shee assented.

And she further sayth, that at the same time, there was a thing in the likenes of a spotted Bitch, that came with the sayd Spirit vnto the sayd *Demdike*, which then did speake vnto her in this Examinate hearing, and sayd, that she should haue Gould, Siluer, and worldly Wealth, at her will. And at the same time she saith, there was victuals, viz. Flesh, Butter, Cheefe, Bread, and Drinke, and bidde them eate enough. And after their eating, the Deuill called *Fancie*, and the other Spirit calling himselfe *Tibbe*, carried the remnant away: And she sayeth, that although they did eate, they were neuer the fuller, nor better for the same; and that at their said Banquet, the said Spirits gaue them light to see what they did, although they neyther had fire nor Candle lights; and that they were both free Spirits, and Diuels.

And being further examined how many sundry Persons haue been bewitched to death, and by whom they were so bewitched: She sayth, that one *Roberts Nater*, late of the *Greene-head* in *Pendle*, was bewitched by this Examinee, the said *Demdike*, and Widdow *Lomshawe*, (late of *Burneley*) now deceased.

And she further sayth, that the said *Demdike* shewed her, that she had bewitched to death, *Richard Ashton*, Sonne of *Richard Ashton* of *Downham* Esquire.

The

# The Examination of Alizon

Deuice of the Forrest of Pendle, in the County  
of Lancaster Spinster, taken at Reade in the said  
Countie of Lancaster, the xiiij. day of  
March, Anno Regni Jacobi Angliae. &c.  
Nemo: et Scotia xlv.

Before Roger Nowell of Reade aforelaid Esquire, one of  
his Maiesties Iustices of the Peace within the sayd  
Countie, against Elizabeth Sowthern, alias  
Demidike her Grannd-mother.

Viz.



He sayd Alizon Denice sayth, that about two  
yeares agon, her Graund-mother (called  
Elizabeth Sowthern, alias old Demidike) did  
sundry times in going or walking togea-  
ther as they went begging, perswade and  
aduise this Examine to let a Deuill or Familiar appeare  
vnto her; and that shee this Examine, would let him  
lucke at some part of her, and shee might haue, and doe  
what shee would.

And she further sayth, that one John Nutter of the Bul-  
hole in Pendle aforelaid, had a Cow which was sicke, & re-  
quested this examines Grand-mother to amend the said  
Cow; and her said Graund-mother said she would, and so  
her said Graund-mother about ten of the clocke in the  
night, desired this examine to lead her soorth; which this  
Examine did; being then blind: and her Graund-mother  
did remaine about halfe an houre soorth: and this Exami-  
nates sister did fetch her in againe; but what she did when  
she was so soorth, this Examine cannot tell. But the next

C.

morning.

*The Arraignement and Tryall*

morning this Examine heard that the sayd Cow was dead. And this Examine verily thinketh, that her sayd Graund-mother did bewitch the sayd Cow to death.

And further, this Examine sayth, that about two yeares agoe, this Examine hauing gotten a Piggin full of blew Milke by begging, brought it into the house of her Graund-mother, where (this Examine going foorth presently, and staying about halfe an houre) there was Butter to the quantity of a quarterne of a pound in the said milke, and the quantitie of the said milke still remaynings and her Graund-mother had no Butter in the house when this Examine went foorth: duering which time, this Examine's Graund-mother still lay in her bed.

And further this Examine sayth, that *Richard Baldwin* of *Weelhead* within the Forreest of *Pendle*, about 2. yeeres agoe, fell out with this Examine's Graund-mother, & so would not let her come vpon his Land: and about foure or fiue dayes then next after, her said Graund-mother did request this Examine to lead her foorth about ten of the clocke in the night: which this Examine accordingly did, and she stayed foorth then about an houre, and this Examine's sister fetched her in againe. And this Examine heard the next morning, that a woman Child of the sayd *Richard Baldwin* was fallen sicke; and as this Examine did then heare, the sayd Child did languish afterwards by the space of a yeare, or thereaboutes, and dyed: And this Examine verily thinketh, that her said Graund-mother did bewitch the sayd Child to death.

And further, this Examine sayth, that she heard her sayd Graund-mother say presently after her falling out with the sayd *Baldwin*, shee would pray for the sayd *Baldwin* both still and loude: and this Examine heard her curse the sayd *Baldwin* sundry times.

*The*

The Examination of *James Deuise* of the Forrest of  
*Pendle*, in the Countie of *Lancaster* Labourer, taken the  
27. day of April, Anno<sup>q</sup>. Regni Regis Iacobi, Anglia. &c.

Decimo: ac Scoto *Quadragesimo quinto*: Before

*Roger Nowell*, and *Nicholas Banister Esq.*

two of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace within  
the sayd Countie.



HE sayd Examinee *James Deuise* sayth,  
that about a month agoe, as this Exami-  
nate was comming towards his Mothers  
house, and at day-gate of the same night, *Evening.*  
this Examinee mette a browne Dogge  
comming from his Graund-mothers house, about tenne  
Roodes distant from the same house: and about two or  
three nights after, that this Examinee heard a voyce of a  
great number of Children screeking and crying pittifully,  
about day-light gate; and likewise, about ten Roodes di-  
stant of this Examinates sayd Graund-mothers house.  
And about fife nights then next following, presently after  
daylight, within 20. Roodes of the sayd *Elizabeth Sow-  
therns* house, he heard a foule yelling like vnto a great  
number of Cattes: but what they were, this Examinee  
cannot tell. And he further sayth, that about three nights  
after that, about midnight of the same, there came a thing,  
and lay vpon him very heauily about an houre, and went  
then from him out of his Chamber window, coloured  
blacke, and about the bignesse of a Hare or Catte. And  
he further sayth, that about *S. Peters* day last, one *Henry  
Bullocke* came to the sayd *Elizabeth Sowtherns* house, and  
sayd, that her Graund-child *Alizon Deuise*, had bewitched  
a Child of his, and desired her that she would goe with  
him to his house; which accordingly she did: And there-  
vpon she the sayd *Alizon* fell downe on her knees, &c. asked  
the sayd *Bullocke* forgiveness, and confessed to him, that she  
had bewitched the said child, as this Examinee heard his  
said siter confesse vnto him this Examinee.



## The Examination of Eliza-

beth Deuice, Daughter of old Demdike, taken  
at Read before Roger Nowell Esquire, one of  
his Maiesties Iustices of Peace within the  
Countie of Lancaster the xxx. day  
of March, Annoq, Regni Jacobi

*Decimo, ac Scotie xlv.*



He sayd Elizabeth Deuice the Exa-  
minate, sayth, that the sayd Eliza-  
beth Swinburns, alias Demdike, hath  
had a place on her left side by the  
space of fourty yeares, in such sort,  
as was to be seene at this Exami-  
nates Examination taking, at this  
present time.

Heere this worthy Iustice M. Nowell, out of these par-  
ticular Examinations, or rather Accusations, finding mat-  
ter to proceed; and hauing now before him old Berndike,  
old Chastox, Alizon Deuice, and Redferne both old and  
young, *Reos. confitentis, et Accusantes Inuicem.* About the  
second of Aprill last past, committed and sent them away  
to the Castle at Lancaster, there to remaine vntill the com-  
ming of the Kinges Maiesties Iustices of Assise, then to  
receiue their tryall.

Bur

But heere they had not stayed a weeke, when their Childreo and Friendes being abroad at libertie, laboured a speciall meeting at *Malting Tower* in the Forrest of *Pendle*, vpon Good-fryday, within a weeke after they were committed, of all the most dangerous, wicked, and damnable Witches in the County farre and neere. Vpon Good-fryday they met, according to solemne appoyntment, solemnized this great Feastiuall day according to their former order, with great cheare, merry company, and much conference.

In the end, in this great Assemblie, it was decreed *M. Couell* by reason of his Office, shall be shiue before the next Assises: The Castle of *Lancaster* to be blowen vp, and ayde and assistance to be sent to kill *M. Lister*, with his old Enemie and wicked Neighbour *Iennet Prestons* with some other such like practises: as vpon their Arraignement and Tryall, are particularly set foorth, and giuen in euidence against them.

This was not so secret, but some notice of it came to *M. Nowell*, and by his great paines taken in the Examination of *Iennet Deuice*, al their practises are now made known. Their purpose to kill *M. Couell*, and blow vp the Castle, is preuented. All their Murders, Witchcraftes, Inchauntments, Charmes, & Sorceries, are discouered; and euen in the middest of their Consultations, they are all confounded, and arrested by Gods Iustice: brough before *M. Nowell*, and *M. Bauester*, vpon their voluntary confessions, Examinations, and other Euidence accused, and so by them committed to the Castle: So as now both old and young, haue taken vp their lodgings with *M. Couell*, vntill the next Assises, expecting their Tryall and deliuerance, according to the Lawes prouided for such like.

*The Arraignment and Tryall*

In the meane time, M. *Nowell* hauing knowledge by this discouery of their meeting at *Malkeing Tower*, and their resolution to execute mischief, takes great paines to apprehend such as were at libertie, and prepared Euidence against all such as were in question for Witches,

Afterwardes sendes some of these Examinations, to the Alsises at Yorke, to be giuen in Euidence against *Iennet Preston*, who for the murder of M. *Lisser*, is condemned and executed.

The Circuite of the North partes being now almost ended.

*The 16. of August.*

Vpon Sunday in the after noone, my honorable Lords the Iudges of Alsise, came from *Kendall* to *Lancaster*.

Wherevpon M. *Cowell* presented vnto their Lordships a Calender, conteyning the Names of the Prisoners committed to his charge, which were to receiue their Tryall at the Alsises: Out of which, we are onely to deal with the proceedings against Witches, which were as followeth.

*Viz.*

*The*

of *Witches at Lancaster.*

## The Names of the

Witches committed to the  
Castle of Lancaster.

*Elizabeth Sowtherns.* } Who dyed before  
alias } shee  
*Old Demdike.* } came to her tryall.

*Anne Whistle, alias Chattox,*  
*Elizabeth Deuice, Daughter of old Demdike.*  
*James Deuice, Sonne of Elizabeth Deuice.*  
*Anne Readsearne, Daughter of Anne Chattox.*  
*Alice Nutter.*  
*Katherine Hewytte.*  
*John Bulcocke.*  
*Jane Bulcocke.*  
*Alizon Deuice, Daughter of Elizabeth Deuice.*  
*Isabell Robey.*  
*Margaret Pearson.*

## The Witches of Salmesbury.

<i>Jennet Bierley.</i>	}	{	<i>Elizabeth Astley.</i>
<i>Elen Bierley.</i>			<i>Alice Gray.</i>
<i>Jane Southworth.</i>			<i>Isabell Sidegraues.</i>
<i>John Ramefden.</i>			<i>Lawrence Hays.</i>

The next day, being Monday, the 17. of August, were  
the Alsises holden in the Castle of Lancaster, as fol-  
loweth.

*Placita*

*The Arraignement and Tryall*

PLACITA CORONÆ,

*apud Lancaſterium.*

**D** *Eliberatio Gaole Domini Regis Caſtri ſui Lancaſtrii ac Priſonariorū in eadem exiſtent. Tenta apud Lancaſterium in com. Lancaſterij. Die Luna, Decimo ſeptimo die Auguſti, Anno Regni Domini noſtri Iacobi dei gratia Anglia, Francie, et Hibernie, Regis fidei deſenſoris; Decimo: et Scotie Quadrageſimo ſexto; Coram Iacobo Altham Milit. vno Baronum Scaccarij Domini Regis, et Edwardo Bromley Milit. altero Barono, eiufdem Scaccarij Domini Regis: ac Iuſtic. Domini Regis apud Lancaſtr.*



Pon the Tewesday in the after noone, the Iudges according to the courſe and order, deuided them ſelues, wherevpon my Lord Bromley, one of his Maieſties Iudges of Aſiſe comming into the Hall to proceede with the Pleaes of the Crowne, & the Arraignement and Tryall of Priſoners, commaunded a generall Proclamation, that all Iuſtices of Peace that had taken any Recogniſances, or Examinations of Priſoners, ſhould make Returne of them: And all ſuch as were bound to proſecute Indiſcmentes, and giue Euidence againſt Witches, ſhould proceede, and giue attendance: her ſhe now intended to proceed to the Arraignement and Tryall of Witches.

After which, the Court being ſer, M. Sherieffe. was comāunded to preſent his Priſoners before his Lordſhip, and prepare a ſufficient Iurie of Gentlemen for life and death. But heere we want old Demdike, who dyed in the Caſtle before ſhe came to her Tryall.

Heere

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

Here you may not expect the exact order of the Assises, with the Proclamations, and other solemnities belonging to so great a Court of Justice: but the proceedings against the Witches, who are now upon their delivrance here in order as they came to the Barre, with the particular poyntes of Evidencc against them: which is the labour and worke we now intend (by Gods grace) to performe as we may, to your generall contentment.

Wherevpon, the first of all these, *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, was brought to the Barre: against whom wee are now ready to proceed.

D.

The



## The Arraignement and

Tryall of Anne Whittle, *alias* Chattox,  
of the Forrest of *Penlle*, in the Coun-  
tie of *Lancaster*, Widdow;  
about the age of Foure-  
score yeares, or there-  
abouts.

*Anne Whittle, alias Chattox.*



IF in this damnable course of life, and offences, more horrible and odious, then any man is able to expresse: any man lying could lament the estate of any such like vpon earth: The example of this poore creature, would haue moued pittie, in respect of her great contrition and repentance, after she was committed to the Castle at *Lancaster*, vntill the comming of his Maiesties Iudges of Assise. But such was the nature of her offences, & the multitude of her crying sinnes, as it tooke away all sense of humanity. And the repetition of her hellish practises, and Reuenges being the chiefest things wherein she alwayes tooke great delight, together with a particular declaration of the Murders shee had committed, layde open to the world, and giuen in Euidence against her at the time of her Arraignement and Tryall;

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

Tryall; as certainly it did beget contempt in the Audience, and such as she neuer offended.

This *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, was a very old withered (spent & decreped creature, her sight almost gone: A dangerous Witch, of very long continuance; alwayes opposit to old *Demdike*: For whom the one fauoured, <sup>Her owne</sup> the other hated deadly: and how they enuie and accuse <sup>examination</sup> one an other, in their Examinations, may appeare.

In her Witchcraft, alwayes more ready to doe mischief to mens goods, then themselues. Her lippes euer chattering and walking: but no man knew what. She liued in the Forrest of *Pendle*, amongst this wicked company of dangerous Witches. Yet in her Examination and Confession, she dealt alwayes very plainly and truly: for vpon a speciall occasion being oftentimes examined in open Court, shee was neuer found to vary, but alwayes to agree in one, and the selfe same thing.

I place her in order, next to that wicked fire-brand of mischief, old *Demdike*, because from these two, sprung all the rest in order: and were the Children and Friendes, of these two notorious Witches.

Many things in the discouery of them, shall be very worthy your obseruation. As the times and occasions to execute their mischief. And this in generall: the Spirit could neuer hurt, till they gaue consent.

And, but that it is my charge, to set forth a particular Declaration of the Euidence against them, vpon their Arraignement and Tryall; with their Diuelish practises, consultations, meetings, and murders committed by them,

### *The Arraignement and Tryall*

in such sort, as they were given in Euidence against them; for the which, I shall haue matter vpon Record, I could make a large Comentarie of them: But it is my humble duety, to obserue the Charge and Commaundement of these my Honorable good Lordes the Iudges of Aulse, and not to exceed the limits of my Commission. Wherefore I shall now bring this auncient Witch, to the due course of her Tryall, in order. *viz.*

### **Indictment.**

**T**His *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, of the Forrest of *Pendle* in the Countie of *Lancaster* Widdow, being Indicted, for that shee feloniously had practised, vsed, and exercised diuers wicked and diuelish Artes called Witchcraftes, Inchauntmentes, Charmes, and Sorceries, in and vpon one *Robert Nutter* of *Greenehead*, in the Forrest of *Pendle*, in the Countie of *Lanc*: and by force of the same Witchcraft, feloniously the sayd *Robert Nutter* had killed, *Contra Pacem, &c.* Being at the Barre, was arraigned.

To this Indictment, vpon her Arraignement, shee pleaded, Not guiltie: and for the tryall of her life, put her selfe vpon God and her Country.

Wherevpon my Lord *Bromley* commaunded M. Sheriffe of the County of *Lancaster* in open Court, to returne a Iurie of worthy sufficient Gentlemen of vnderstanding, to passe betweene our soueraigne Lord the Kinges Maiestic, and her, and others the Prisoners, vpon their liues and deathes; as hereafter follow in order: who were afterwards sworn, according to the forme and order of the


*of Witches at Lancaster.*

the Court, the Prisoners being admitted to their lawfull challenges.

V Which being done, and the Prisoner at the Barre ready to receiue her Tryall: *M. Newell*, being the best instructed of any man, of all the particular poyntes of Evidence against her, and her fellowes, hauing taken great paynes in the proceedinges against her and her fellowes. Humbly prayed, her owne voluntary Confession and Examination taken before him, when she was apprehended and committed to the Castle of *Lancaster* for Witchcraft might openly be published against her: which hereafter followeth. *Viz.*

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The voluntary Confession and Examination of  
*Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, taken at the Fence in the  
Forrest of *Pendle*, in the Countie of *Lancaster*,  
Before *Roger Newell Esq.*, one of the  
Kings Maiesties Iustices of Peace  
in the Countie of *Lancaster*.  
*Viz.*

 He sayd *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, vpon her Examination, voluntarily confesseth, and sayth, That about foureteene or fifteene yeares agoe, a thing like a Christian man for foure yeares together, did sundry times come to this Examinee, and requested this Examinee to giue him her Soule: And in the end, this Examinee was contented to giue him her sayd Soule, shee being then in her owne house, in the Forrest of *Pendle*: wherevpon the Deuill then in the shape of a Man, sayd to this Examinee: Thou shalt want nothing; and bereuenged of whom thou list. And the Deuill then further com-

*The Arraignement and Tryall*

maunded this Examinee, to call him by the name of *Fancie*; and when she wanted any thing, or would be reuenged of any, call on *Fancie*, and he would be ready. And the sayd Spirit or Deuill, did appeare vnto her not long after, in mans likeneffe, and would haue had this Examinee to haue contented, that he might hurt the wife of *Richard Baldwin* of *Pendle*; But this Examinee would not then consent vnto him: For which cause, the sayd Deuill would then haue bitten her by the arme; and so vanished away, for that time.

And this Examinee further sayth, that *Robert Nutter* did desire her Daughter one *Redsearns* wife, to haue his pleasure of her, being then in *Redsearns* house: but the sayd *Redsearns* wife denyed the sayd *Robert*; wherevpon the sayd *Robert* seeming to be greatly displeased therewith, in a great anger tooke his Horse, and went away, saying in a great rage, that if euer the Ground came to him, shee should neuer dwell vpon his Land. Wherevpon this Examinee called *Fancie* to her; who came to her in the likeneffe of a Man in a parcell of Ground called, *The Laund*; asking this Examinee, what shee would haue him to doe? And this Examinee bade him goe reuenge her of the sayd *Robert Nutter*. After which time, the sayd *Robert Nutter* liued about a quarter of a yeare, and then dyed.

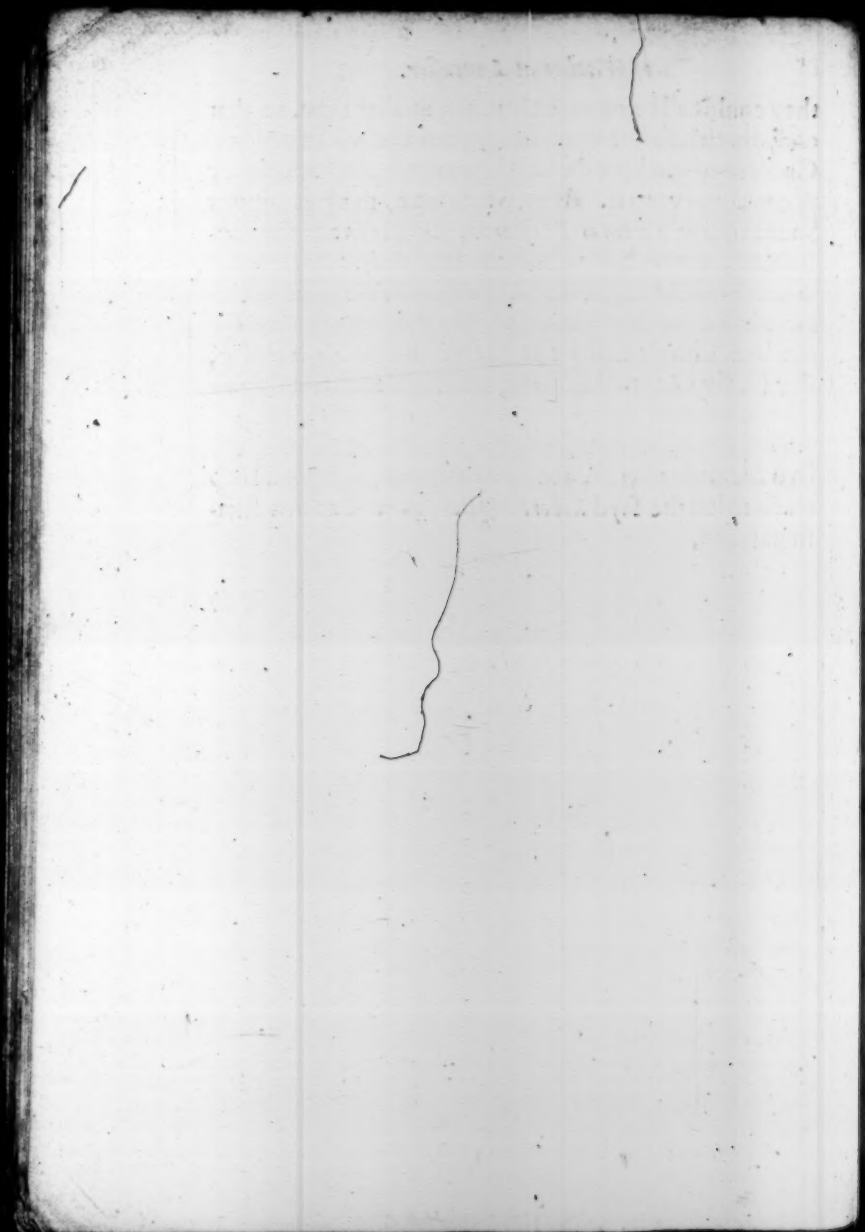
And this Examinee further sayth, that *Elizabeth Nutter*, wife to old *Robert Nutter*, did request this Examinee, and *Loemesshams* wife of *Burley*, and one *Iane Boothman*, of the same, who are now both dead, (which time of request, was before that *Robert Nutter* desired the company of *Redsearns* wife) to get young *Robert Nutter* his death, if they

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

they could; all being together then at that time, to that end, that if *Robert* were dead, then the Women their Coosens might haue the Land: By whose perswasion, they all consented vnto it. After which time, this Examinees Sonne in law *Thomas Redfearne*, did perswade this Examinee, not to kill or hurt the sayd *Robert Nutter*; for which perswasion, the sayd *Loomeshaws* Wife, had like to haue killed the sayd *Redfearne*, but that one *M. Baldwyn* (the late Schoole-maister at *Coulne*) did by his learning, stay the sayd *Loomeshaws* wife, and therefore had a Capon from *Redfearne*.

And this Examinee further sayth, that she thinketh the sayd *Loomeshaws* wife, and *Iane Boothman*, did what they could to kill the sayd *Robert Nutter*, as well as this Examinee did.

*The*



*The Examination of ELIZABETH*

*SOTHERNES, alias OLD DEMBIDIKE : taken at the Fence in the Forrest of Pendle in the Countie of Lancaster, the day and yeare aforesaid.*

Before,

*ROGER NOWEL Esquire, one of the Kings Maiesties Iustices of Peace in the said Countie, against ANNE WHITTLE, alias CHATTOX.*

**T**He said *Elizabeth Southernes* saith vpon her Examination, that about halfe a yeare before *Robert Nutter* died, as this Examinee thinketh, this Examinee went to the house of *Thomas Redferne*, which was about Mid-sommer, as this Examinee remembreth it. And there within three yards of the East end of the said house, shee saw the said *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, and *Anne Redferne* wife of the said *Thomas Redferne*, and Daughter of the said *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*: the one on the one side of the Ditch, and the other on the other: and two Pictures of Clay or Marle lying by them: and the third Picture the said *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, was making: and the said *Anne Redferne* her said Daughter, wrought her Clay or Marle to make the third picture withall. And this Examinee passing by them, the said Spirit, called *Tibb*, in the shape of a black Cat, appeared vnto her this Examinee, and said, turne back againe, and doe as they doe: To whom this Examinee said, what are they doing? whereunto the said Spirit said; they are making three Pictures: whereupon she asked whose pictures they were? whereunto the said Spirit said; they

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### *The Arraignement and Triall*

are the pictures of *Christopher Nutter*, *Robert Nutter*, and *Marie*, wife of the said *Robert Nutter* : But this Examinee denying to goe back to helpe them to make the Pictures afore said; the said Spirit seeming to be angrie, therefore shoue or pushed this Examinee into the ditch, and so shed the Milke which this Examinee had in a Can or Kit: and so thereupon the Spirit at that time vanished out of this Examinees sight: But presently after that, the said Spirit appeared to this Examinee againe in the shape of a Hare, and so went with her about a quarter of a mile, but said nothing to this Examinee, nor shew to it.

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### *The Examination and evidence of IAMES ROBINSON, taken the day and yeare afore said.*

Before

ROGER NOWEL *Esquire afore said*, against ANNE WHITTLE, alias CHATTOX, Prisoner at the Barre as followeth. viz.

THE said Examinee saith, that about fixe yeares agoe, *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, was hired by this Examinees wife to card wooll; and so vpon a Friday and Saturday, shee came and carded wooll with this Examinees wife, and so the Munday then next after shee came likewise to card: and this Examinees wife hauing newly tunned drinke into Stands, which stood by the said *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*: and the said *Anne Whittle* taking a Dish or Cup, and drawing drinke seuerall times:  
and

and so never after that time, for some eight or nine weekes, they could haue any drinke, but spoiled, and as this Examinee thinketh was by the meanes of the said *Chattox*. And further he saith, that the said *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, and *Anne Redferne* her said Daughter, are commonly reputed and reported to bee Witches. And hee also saith, that about some eightene yeares agoe, he dwelled with one *Robert Nutter* the elder, of Pendle aforesaid. And that yong *Robert Nutter*, who dwelled with his Grand-father, in the Sommer time, he fell sicke, and in his said sicknesse hee did seuerall times complaine, that hee had harme by them: and this Examinee asking him what hee meant by that word *Them*, He said, that he verily thought that the said *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, and the said *Redferne*s wife, had bewitched him: and the said *Robert Nutter* shortly after, being to goe with his then Master, called *Sir Richard Shattlesworth*, into Wales, this Examinee heard him say before his then going, vnto the said *Thomas Redferne*, that if euer he came againe he would get his Father to put the said *Redferne* out of his house, or he himselfe would pull it downe; to whom the said *Redferne* replied, saying; when you come back againe you will be in a better mind: but he neuer came back againe, but died before Candlemas in Cheshire, as he was comming homeward.

Since the voluntarie confession and examination of a Witch, doth exceede all other euidence, I spare to trouble you with a multitude of Examinations, or Depositions of any other witnesses, by reason this bloudie fact, for the Murder of *Robert Nutter*, vpon so small an occasion, as to threaten to take away

### *The Arraignement and Triall*

his owne land from such as were not worthie to inhabit or dwell vpon it, is now made by that which you haue alreadie heard, so apparant, as no indifferent man will question it, or rest vnſatisfied: I ſhall now proccede to ſet forth vnto you the reſt of her actions, remaining vpon Record. And how dangerous it was for any man to liue neere this people, to giue them any occaſion of offence, I leaue it to your good conſideration.

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*The Examination and voluntarie Confeſſion of ANNE WHITTLE, alias CHATTOX, taken at the Fence in the Forreſt of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaſter, the ſecond day of Aprill, Anno Regni Regis IACOBI Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, decimo, & Scotiæ xlv.*

Before

ROGER NOVVEL, *Eſquire, one of his Maieſties Juſtices of Peace within the Countie of Lancaſter.*

She the ſaid Examinee ſaith, That ſhee was ſent for by the wife of *Iohn Moore*, to helpe drinke that was forſpoken or bewitched: at which time ſhee vſed this Prayer for the amending of it, *viz.*

### *A Charme.*

*Three Biters haſt thou bitten,  
The Hart, ill Eye, ill Tonge:*

*Three*

of Witches at Lancaster.

Three bitter shall be thy Boote,  
Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost  
a Gods name.

Five Pater-nosters, five Anies,  
and a Creede,

In worship of five wounds  
of our Lord.

After which time that this Examine had vsed these prayers, and amended her drinke, the said *Moeres* wife did chide this Examine, and was grieued at her.

And thereupon this Examine called for her *Deuill Fancie*, and bad him goe bite a browne Cow of the said *Moeres* by the head, and make the Cow goe madder, and the *Deuill* then, in the likenesse of a browne Dogge, went to the said Cow, and bit her: which Cow went madde accordingly, and died within six weekes next after, or thereabouts.

Also this Examine saith, That shee percciuing *Anthony Nutter* of Pendle to fauour *Elizabeth Sothernes*, alias *Dembaike*, she, this Examine, called *Fancie* to her, (who appeared like a man) and bad him goe kill a Cow of the said *Anthonyes*; which the said *Deuill* did, and that Cow died also.

And further this Examine saith, That the *Deuill*, or *Fancie*, hath taken most of her sight away from her. And further this Examine saith, That in Summer last, saue one, the said *Deuill*, or *Fancie*, came vpon this Examine in the night time: and at diuerse and sundry times in the likenesse of a Beare, gaping as though he would haue wearied this Examine. And the last time of all shee, this Examine, saw him, was vpon

*The Arraignement and Triall.*

Thursday last yeare but one, next before Midsummer day, in the evening, like a Beare, and this Examine would not then speake vnto him, for the which the said Deuill pulled this Examine downe.

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*The Examination of* JAMES DEVICE,  
*sonne of* ELIZABETH DEVICE, *taken the seuen and*  
*twentieth day of Aprill, Annoq; Reg. Regis IACOBI*  
*Angliz, &c. Decimo ac Scotiz xlv.*

Before

ROGER NOVVEL and NICHOLAS BANISTER,  
*Esquires, two of his Maiesties Iustices of the Peace with-*  
*in the said Countie. viz.*

**A**Nd further saith, That twelue yeares agoe, the said Anne Chattox at a Buriall at the new Church in Pendle, did take three scalpes of people, which had been buried, and then cast out of a graue, as she the said Chattox told this Examine; and tooke eight teeth out of the said Scalpes, whereof she kept foure to her selfe, and gaue other foure to the said Demlike, this Examines Grand-mother: which foure teeth now shewed to this Examine, are the foure teeth that the said Chattox gaue to his said Grand-mother, as aforesaid; which said teeth haue euer since beene kept, vntill now found by the said Henry Hargreines & this Examine, at the West-end of this Examines Grand-mothers house; and there buried in the earth, and a Picture of Clay there likewise found by them, about halfe a yard ouer in the earth,

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

earth, where the said teeth lay, which said picture so found, was almost withered away, and was the Picture of *Anne, Anthony Nutters* daughter; as this Examinates Grand-mother told him.

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*The Examination of ALLIZON DE-*

*VICE daughter of ELIZABETH DEVICE: Taken at Reade, in the Countie of Lancaster, the thirtieth day of March, Annoq; Reg. Regis IACOBI nunc Angliæ, &c. Decimo, & Scotiæ Quadragesimo quinto.*

*Before*

*ROGER NOVVEL of Reade aforesaid, Esquire, one of his Maiesties Iustices of the Peace, within the said Countie.*

**T**HIS Examine saith, That about eleuen yeares agoe, this Examine and her mother had their fire-house broken, and all, or the most part of their linnen clothes & halfe a peck of cut oat-meale, and a quantitie of meale gone, all which was worth twentie shillings or aboute: and vpon a Sunday then next after, this Examine did take a band and a coife, parcell of the goods aforesaid, vpon the daughter of *Anne Whittle, alias Chattox*, and claimed them to be parcell of the goods stolne, as aforesaid.

And this Examine further saith, That her father, called *Iohn Deuice*, being afraid, that the said *Anne Chattox* should doe him or his goods any hurt by Witchcraft;

*The Arraignement and Triall*

craft; did couchant with the said *Anne*, that if she would hurt neither of them, she should yearly haue one Aghen-dole of meale; which meale was yearly paid, vntill the yeare which her father died in, which was about eleuen yeares since: Her father vpon his then-death-bed, taking it that the said *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, did bewitch him to death, because the said meale was not paid the last yeare.

And she also saith, That about two yeares agoe, this Examinee being in the house of *Anthony Nutter* of Pendle aforesaid, and being then in company with *Anne Nutter*, daughter of the said *Anthony*: the said *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, came into the said *Anthony Nutters* house, and seeing this Examinee, and the said *Anne Nutter* laughing, and saying, that they laughed at her the said *Chattox*: well said then (sayes *Anne Chattox*) I will be meet with the one of you. And vpon the next day after, she the said *Anne Nutter* fell sicke and within three weekes after died. And further, this Examinee saith, That about two yeares agoe, she, this Examinee, hath heard, That the said *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, was suspected for bewitching the drinke of *John Moore* of Higham Gentleman: and not long after, shee this Examinee heard the said *Chattox* say, that she would meet with the said *John Moore*, or his. Whereupon a child of the said *John Moores*, called *John*, fell sick, and languished about halfe a yeare, and then died: during which languishing, this Examinee saw the said *Chattox* sitting in her owne garden, and a picture of Clay like vnto a child in her Apron; which this Examinee espying, the said *Anne Chattox* would haue hidde with her Apron: and this Examinee declaring the same to her mother, her mother

mother thought it was the picture of the said *John Moores* childe.

And she this Examine further saith, That about sixe or seuen yeares agoe, the said *Chattox* did fall out with one *Hugh Moore* of Pendle, as aforesaid, about certaine cattell of the said *Moores*, which the said *Moore* did charge the said *Chattox* to haue bewitched: for which the said *Chattox* did curse and worry the said *Moore*, and said she would be Reuenged of the said *Moore*: whereupon the said *Moore* presently fell sicke, and languished about halfe a yeare, and then died. Which *Moore* vpon his death-bed said, that the said *Chattox* had bewitched him to death. And she further saith, That about sixe yeares agoe, a daughter of the said *Anne Chattox*, called *Elizabeth*, hauing been at the house of *John Nutters* of the Bull-hole, to begge or get a dish full of milke, which she had, and brought to her mother, who was about a fields breadth of the said *Nutters* house, which her said mother *Anne Chattox* tooke and put into a Kan, and did charne the same with two sticke acrosse in the same field: whereupon the said *John Nutters* sonne came vnto her, the said *Chattox*, and misliking her doings, put the said Kan and milke ouer with his foot; and the morning next after, a Cow of the said *John Nutters* fell sicke, and so languished three or foure dayes, and then died.

In the end being openly charged with all this in open Court; with weeping teares she humbly acknowledged them to be true, and cried out vnto God for Mercy and forgiuenesse of her sinnes, and humbly prayed my Lord to be mercifull vnto *Anne Redfearne* her daughter, of whose life and condition you shall heare more vpon

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*The Arraignement and Triall*

her Arraignement and Triall: whereupon shee being  
taken away, *Elizabeth Denice* comes now to receiue  
her Triall being the next in order, of whom  
you shall heare at  
large.

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THE



# THE ARRAIGNMENT

## *and Triall of ELIZABETH DE-*

VICE (*Daughter of ELIZABETH SOTHERNES,*  
alias OLD DEMBDIKE) *late wife of IO. DEVICE,*  
*of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, wi-*  
*dow, for Witchcraft; Vpon Tuesday the eighteenth of Au-*  
*gust, at the Assises and generall Gaole-Deliuerie holden at*  
*Lancaster*

Before

Sir EDVVARD BROMLEY *Knight, one of his Ma-*  
*iesties Iustices of Assise at Lancaster.*

## *Elizabeth Deuice.*



Barbarous and inhumane Monster, be-  
yond example; so farre from sensible vn-  
derstanding of thy owne miserie, as to  
bring thy owne naturall children into  
mischiefe and bondage; and thy selfe to  
be a witnesse vpon the Gallowes, to see thy owne chil-  
dren, by thy deuillish instructions hatcht vp in Villanie  
and Witchcraft, to suffer with thee, even in the begin-  
ning of their time, a shamefull and vntimely Death.  
Too much (so it be true) cannot be said or written of  
her. Such was her life and condition: that euen at the  
Barre, when shee came to receiue her Triall (where the

*The Arraignement and Triall*

least sparke of Grace or modestie would haue procured fauour, or moued pitie) she was not able to containe her selfe within the limits of any order or gouernment: but exclaiming, in very outrageous manner crying out against her owne children, and such as came to prosecute Indictments & Euidence for the Kings Maiestie against her, for the death of their Children, Friends, and Kinsfolkes, whome cruelly and bloudily, by her Enchauntments, Charmes, and Sorceries she had murthered and cut off; sparing no man with fearefull execrable curses and banning: Such in generall was the common opinion of the Countrey where she dwelt, in the Forrest of Pendle (a place fit for people of such condition) that no man neere her, neither his wife, children, goods, or cattell should be secure or free from danger.

This *Elizabeth Deuice* was the daughter of *Elizabeth Sothernes*, old *Demblike*, a malicious, wicked, and dangerous Witch for fiftie yeares, as appeareth by Record: and how much longer, the Deuill and shee knew best, with whome shee made her couenant.

It is very certaine, that amongst all these Witches there was not a more dangerous and deuillish Witch to execute mischief, hauing old *Demblike* her mother, to assist her; *James Deuice* and *Alizon Deuice*, her owne naturall children, all prouided with Spirits, vpon any occasion of offence readie to assist her.

Vpon her Examination although Master *Nowel* was very circumspect, and exceeding carefull in dealing with her, yet she would confesse nothing, vntill it pleased God to raise vp a yong maid *Jennet Deuice*, her owne daughter, about the age of nine yeares (a witnesse v unexpected) to discouer all their Practises, Meetings, Consultations,

sultations, Murthers, Charmes, and Villanies: such, and in such sort, as I may iustly say of them, as a reuerend and learned Iudge of this Kingdome speaketh of the greatest Treason that euer was in this Kingdome, *Quis hæc posteris sic narrare poterit, ut facta non ficta esse videantur?* That when these things shall be related to Posteritie, they will be reputed matters fained, not done.

And then knowing, that both *Iennet Deuice*, her daughter, *James Deuice*, her sonne, and *Alizon Deuice*, with others, had accused her and layd open all things, in their Examinations taken before Master *Nowel*, and although she were their owne naturall mother, yet they did not spare to accuse her of euery particular fact, which in her time she had committed, to their knowledge; she made a very liberall and voluntarie Confession, as hereafter shall be giuen in euidence against her, vpon her Arraignement and Triall.

This *Elizabeth Deuice* being at libertie, after Old *Dembdike* her mother, *Alizon Deuice*, her daughter, and old *Chutstocks* were committed to the Castle of Lancaster for Witchcraft; laboured not a little to procure a solemne meeting at Malkyn-Tower of the Graund Witches of the Countie of Lancaster and Yorke, being yet vn suspected and vntaken, to consult of some speedie course for the deliuerance of their friends, the Witches at Lancaster, and for the putting in execution of some other deuillish practises of Murther and Mischiefe: as vpon the Arraignement and Triall of *James Deuice*, her sonne, shall hereafter in euery particular point appeare at large against her.

## The first Indictment.

**T**His *Elizabeth Deuice*, late the wife of *Iohn Deuice*, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster Widdow, being indicted, for that shee feloniously had practized, vsed, and exercised diuers wicked and deuillish Arts, called *Witch-crafts*, *Inshantments*, *Charmes*, and *Sorceries*, in, and vpon one *Iohn Robinson*, alias *Swyer*: and by force of the same feloniously, the said *Iohn Robinson*, alias *Swyer*, had killed. *Contra pacem, &c.* being at the Barre was arraigned.

## 2. Indictment.

The said *Elizabeth Deuice* was the second time indicted in the same manner and forme, for the death of *James Robinson*, by *Witch-craft*. *Contra pacem, &c.*

## 3. Indictment.

The said *Elizabeth Deuice*, was the third time with others, viz. *Alice Nutter*, and *Elizabeth Sothernes*, alias *Old-Dembdike*, her Grand-mother, Indicted in the same manner and forme, for the death of *Henrie Attyton*. *Contra pacem, &c.*

To these three seuerall Indictments vpon her Arraignement, shee pleaded not guiltie; and for the tryall of her life, put her selfe vpon God and her Countrie.

So as now the Gentlemen of the Iurie of life and death, stand charged to finde, whether shee bee guiltie of them, or any of them.

Where-

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

Whereupon there was openly read, and given in evidence against her, for the Kings Majestie, her owne voluntarie Confession and Examination, when shee was apprehended, taken, and committed to the Castle of Lancaster by M. Nowel, and M. Bannester, two of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace in the same Countie. viz.

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*The Examination and voluntarie confession of ELIZABETH DEVICE, taken at the house of IAMES WILSEY of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, the seven and twentieth day of Aprill: Anno Reg. IACOBI, Angl. &c. decimo, & Scotia xlv.*

Before

ROGER NOWEL, and NICHOLAS BANNESTER, Esquires; two of his Maiesties Iustices of the Peace within the same Countie. viz.

The said *Elizabeth Devise*, Mother of the said *James*, being examined, confesseth and saith.

THat at the third time her Spirit, ~~the~~ Spirit Ball, appeared to her in the shape of a browne Dogge, at, or in her Mothers house in Pendle Forrest aforesaid: about foure yeares agoe the said Spirit bidde this Examinee make a picture of Clay after the said *Iohn Robinson*, alias *Swyer*, which this Examinee did make accordingly at the West end of her said Mothers house, and dried the same picture with the fire. and crumbled all the same picture away within a weeke or thereabouts, and about a weeke

### *The Arraignement and Triall*

weeke after the Picture was crumbled or milled away;  
the said *Robinson* dyed.

The reason wherefore shee this Examinee did so bewitch the said *Robinson* to death, was: for that the said *Robinson* had chidden and becalld this Examinee, for hauing a Bastard-child with one *Seller*.

And this Examinee further saith and confesseth, that shee did bewitch the said *James Robinson* to death, as in the said *Iennet Device* her examination is confessed.

And further shee saith, and confesseth, that shee with the wife of *Richard Nutter*, and this Examinees said Mother, ioyned altogether, and did bewitch the said *Henrie Mytton* to death.

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### *The Examination and Euidence of* IENNET DEVICE, Daughter of the said ELIZABETH DEVICE, late Wife of IOHN DEVICE, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster.

Against

ELIZABETH DEVICE her Mother, Prisoner at the Barre upon her Arraignement and Triall. viz.

**T**He said *Iennet Device*, being a yong Maide, about the age of nine yeares, and commanded to stand vp to giue euidence against her Mother, Prisoner at the Barre: Her Mother, according to her accustomed manner, outrageously cursing, cryed out against the child in such fearefull manner, as all the Court did not a little wonder at her, and so amazed the child, as with weeping teares shee

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

shee cryed out vnto my Lord the Iudge, and told him, shee was not able to speake in the presence of her Mother.

This odious Witch was branded with a preposterous marke in Nature, euen from her birth, which was her left eye, standing lower then the other; the one looking downe, the other looking vp, so strangely deformed, as the best that were present in that Honorable assembly, and great Audience, did affirme, they had not often seene the like.

No intreatie, promise of fauour, or other respect, could put her to silence, thinking by this her outrageous cursing and threatning of the child, to inforce her to denie that which she had formerly confessed against her Mother, before M. *Novel* : Forswearing and denying her owne voluntarie confession, which you haue heard, giuen in euidence against her at large, and so for want of further euidence to escape that, which the Iustice of the Law had prouided as a condigne punishment for the innocent bloud shee had spilt, and her wicked and denilish course of life.

In the end, when no meanes would serue, his Lordship commanded the Prisoner to be taken away, and the Maide to bee set vpon the Table in the presence of the whole Court, who deliuered her euidence in that Honorable assembly, to the Gentlemen of the Iurie of life and death, as followeth. *viz.*

*Iennet Denice*, Daughter of *Elizabeth Denice*, late Wife of *Iohn Denice*, of the Forrest of Pendle aforesaid Widow, confesseth and saith, that her said Mother is a Witch, and that this shee knoweth to be true; for, that

G

shee

*The Arraignement and Triall*

ſhee hath ſeene her Spirit ſundrie times come vnto her ſaid Mother in her owne houſe, called *Malking-Tower*, in the likenesse of a browne Dogge, which ſhee called *Ball*; and at one time amongst others, the ſaid *Ball* did aske this Examinares Mother what ſhe would haue him to doe: and this Examinares Mother answered, that ſhe would haue the ſaid *Ball* to helpe her to kill *John Robinſon* of *Barley*, alias *Smyre*: by helpe of which ſaid *Ball*, the ſaid *Smyre* was killed by witch-craft accordingly; and that this Examinares Mother hath continued a Witch for theſe three or foure yeares laſt paſt. And further, this Examinee confeſſeth, that about a yeare after, this Examinares Mother called for the ſaid *Ball*, who appeared as aforeſaid, asking this Examinares Mother what ſhe would haue done, who ſaid, that ſhee would haue him to kill *James Robinſon*, alias *Swyer*, of *Barlow* aforeſaid, Brother to the ſaid *John*: whereunto *Ball* answered, hee would doe it; and about three weekes after, the ſaid *James* dyed.

Her Spi-  
rite

And this Examinee alſo ſaith, that one other time ſhee was preſent, when her ſaid Mother did call for the ſaid *Ball*, who appeared in manner as aforeſaid, and asked this Examinares Mother what ſhee would haue him to doe, whereunto this Examinares Mother then ſaid ſhee would haue him to kill one *Mitton* of the *Rough-Lee*, whereupon the ſaid *Ball* ſaid, he would doe it, and ſo vaniſhed away, and about three weekes after, the ſaid *Mitton* likewiſe dyed.

*The*

## *The Examination of IAMES DEVICE,*

*ſonne of the ſaid ELIZABETH DEVICE: Taken the ſeven and twentieth day of of Aprill, Annoq; Reg. Regis IACOBI Angliæ, &c. Decimo ac Scociæ, xlv.*

Before

ROGER NOVVEL and NICHOLAS BANESTER,  
*Eſquires, two of his Maieſties Juſtices of the Peace, within the ſaid Countie. viz.*

**T**He ſaid *Iames Device* being examined, ſaith, That he heard his Grand-mother ſay, about a yeare agoe, That his mother, called *Elizabeth Device*, and others, had killed one *Henry Mitton* of the Rough-Lee aforeſaid, by Witchcraft. The reaſon wherefore he was ſo killed, was for that this Examinate ſaid Grand-mother, *Old Demdike*, had asked the ſaid *Mitton* a penny; and he denying her thereof, thereupon ſhe procured his death, as aforeſaid.

And he, this Examinee alſo ſaith, That about three yeares ago, this Examinee being in his Grand-mothers houſe, with his ſaid mother; there came a thing in ſhape of a browne dogge, which his mother called *Ball*, who ſpake to this Examinate's mother, in the ſight and hearing of this Examinee, and bad her make a Picture of Clay like vnto *Iohn Robinſon*, alias *Swyer*, and drie it hard, and then crumble it by little and little; and as the ſaid Picture ſhould crumble or mull away, ſo ſhould the ſaid *Iohn Robinſon* alias *Swyer* his body decay and weare away. And within two or three dayes after, the Picture ſhall ſo all be waſted, and mull'd away; ſo then the ſaid *Iohn Robinſon* ſhould die preſently. Vpon the agreement be-

*The Arraignement and Triall.*

twixt the said dogge and this Examinate's mother; the said dogge suddenly vanished out of this Examinate's sight. And the next day, this Examinee saw his said mother take Clay at the West-end of her said house, and make a Picture of it after the said *Robinson*, and brought into her house, and dried it some two dayes: and about two dayes after the drying thereof, this Examinate's said mother fell on crumbling the said Picture of Clay, euery day some, for some three weekes together; and within two dayes after all was crumbled or milled away, the said *John Robinson* died.

Being demanded by the Court, what answer shee could giue to the particular points of the Euidence against her, for the death of these seuerall persons; Impudently shee denied them, crying out against her children, and the rest of the Witnesses against her.

But because I haue charged her to be the principall Agent, to procure a solemne meeting at *Malking-Tower* of the Grand-witches, to consult of some speedy course for the deliuerance of her mother, *Old Demdike*, her daughter, and other Witches at Lancaster: the speedie Execution of Master *Couell*, who little suspected or deserved any such practise or villany against him: The blowing vp of the Castle, with diuers other wicked and diuellish practises and murders; I shall make it apparant vnto you, by the particular Examinations and Euidence of her owne children, such as were present at the time of their Consultation, together with her owne Examination and Confession, amongst the Records of the Crowne at Lancaster, as hereafter followeth.

*The*

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

**The voluntary Confession and Examination** of ELIZABETH DEVICE, taken at the house of JAMES WILSEY, of the Forreſt of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, the ſeven and twentieth day of Aprill, Annoq; Reg. Regis IACOBI Angliæ, &c. Decimo, & Scotiæ Quadrageſimo quinto.

Before

ROGER NOVVEL and NICHOLAS BANISTER, Esquires, two of his Maieſties Juſtices of the Peace within the ſame Countie. viz.

THE ſaid *Elizabeth Denice* being further Examined, confeſſeth, that vpon Good-Friday laſt, there dined at this Examinatees houſe, called *Malking-Tower*, thoſe which ſhe hath ſaid are Witches, and doth verily think them to be Witches : and their names are thoſe whom *James Denice* hath formerly ſpoken of to be there. And ſhe further ſaith, that there was alſo at her ſaid mothers houſe, at the day and time aforeſaid, two women of Burneley Pariſh, whoſe names the wife of *Richard Nutter* doth know. And there was likewiſe there one *Anne Crouckſhey* of Marſden : And ſhee alſo confeſſeth, in all things touching the Chriſtning of the Spirit, and the killing of Maſter *Liſter* of Weſtbie, as the ſaid *James Denice* hath before confeſſed; but denieth of any talke was amongſt them the ſaid Witches, to her now remembrance, at the ſaid meeting together, touching the killing of the Galoer, or the blowing vp of Lancaſter Caſtle.

*The Examination and Euidence of*

*IENNET DEVICE, daughter of the said ELIZABETH DEVICE, late wife of IOHN DEVICE, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster.*

*Against*

*ELIZABETH DEVICE, her Mother, prisoner at the Barre, vpon her Arraignement and Triall, viz.*

**T**He said *Jennet Devise* saith, That vpon Good Friday last there was about twentie persons (whereof onely two were men, to this Examinatees remembrance) at her said Grandmothers house, called Malking-Tower aforesaid, about twelue of the clocke: all which persons this Examinatees said mother told her, were Witches, and that they came to giue a name to *Alizon Devise* Spirit, or Familiar, sister to this Examinee, and now prisoner at Lancaster. And also this Examinee saith, That the persons aforesaid had to their dinners Beefe, Bacon, and roasted Mutton; which Mutton (as this Examinatees said brother said) was of a Wether of *Christopher Swyers* of Barley: which Wether was brought in the night before into this Examinatees mothers house by the said *James Devise*, this Examinatees said brother: and in this Examinatees sight killed and eaten, as aforesaid. And shee further saith, That shee knoweth the names of sixe of the said Witches, viz. the wife of *Hugh Hargraues* vnder Pendle, *Christopher Howgate* of Pendle, vnckle to this Examinee, and *Elizabeth* his wife, and *Dicke Ayles* his wife of the Rough-Lee; *Christopher Jackes* of Thorny-holme, and his wife: and the names of

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

of the residue shee this Examine doth not know, saying that this Examines mother and brother were both there. And lastly, she this Examine confesseth and saith, That her mother hath taught her two prayers: the one to cure the bewitched, and the other to get drinke; both which particularly appeare.

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*The Examination and Euidence of*

*JAMES DEVICE, sonne of the said ELIZABETH DEVICE, late wife of IOHN DEVICE, of the Forreſt of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster.*

*Against*

*ELIZABETH DEVICE, his Mother, prisoner at the Barre, upon her Arraignement and Triall, viz.*

**T**He said *James Device* saith, That on Good-Friday last, about twelue of the clocke in the day time, there dined in this Examines said mothers house, at Malking-Tower, a number of persons, whereof three were men, with this Examine, and the rest women; and that they met there for three causes following (as this Examines said mother told this Examine) The first was, for the naming of the Spirit, which *Allizon Device*, now prisoner at Lancaster, had: But did not name him, because shee was not there. The second was, for the deliuerie of his said Grandmother, olde *Dembdike*; this Examines said sister *Allizon*; the said

*Anne*

*The Arraignement and Triall*

*Anne Chattox*, and her daughter *Redferne*; killing the Gaoler at Lancaster; and before the next Assises to blow vp the Castle there: and to that end the afore-said prisoners might by that time make an escape, and get away. All which this Examine then heard them conferre of.

And he also sayth, That the names of the said Witches as were on Good-Friday at this Examinates said Grandmothers house, and now this Examinates owne mothers, for so many of them as hee did know, were these, viz. The wife of *Hugh Hargreines* of Burley; the wife of *Christopher Bulcock*, of the Mosse end, and *John* her sonne; the mother of *Myles Nutter*; *Elizabeth*, the wife of *Christopher Hargreines*, of Thurniholme; *Christopher Howgate*, and *Elizabeth*, his wife; *Alice Graye* of Coulne, and one *Mould-beeles* wife, of the same: and this Examine, and his Mother. And this Examine further sayth, That all the Witches went out of the said House in their owne shapes and likenesses. And they all, by that they were forth of the dores, gotten on Horsebacke, like vnto Foales, some of one colour, some of another; and *Prestons* wife was the last: and when shee got on Horsebacke, they all presently vanished out of this Examinates sight. And before their said parting away, they all appointed to meete at the said *Prestons* wiues house that day twelue-moneths; at which time the said *Prestons* wife promised to make them a great Feast. And if they had occasion to meete in the meane time, then should warning be giuen, that they all should meete vpon *Romleyes* Moore.

Executed at  
Yorke the last  
Assises.

And

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

And here they parted, with resolution to execute  
their deuillish and bloudie practises, for the deliue-  
rance of their friends, vntill they came to meeete here,  
where their power and strength was gone. And now  
finding her Meanes was gone, shee cryed out for Mer-  
cie. Whereupon shee being taken away, the next  
in order was her sonne *James Deuice*, whom  
shee and her Mother, old *Demb-  
dike*, brought to act his part  
in this wofull Tra-  
gedie.

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## THE ARRAIGNMENT

*and Triall of IAMES DEVICE,*

*Sonne of ELIZABETH DEVICE, of the Forrest of Pendle, within the Countie of Lancaster aforesaid, Laborer, for Witchcraft; Vpon Tuesday the eighteenth of August, at the Assises and generall Gaole-Delinerie holden at Lancaster*

*Before*

*Sir EDWARD BROMLEY Knight, one of his Maesties Iustices of Assise at Lancaster.*

*James Devise.*



His wicked and miserable Wretch, whether by practise, or meanes, to bring himselfe to some vntimely death, and thereby to auoide his Tryall by his Countrey, and iust iudgement of the Law; or ashamed to bee openly charged with so many deuillish practises, and so much innocent blood as hee had spilt; or by reason of his Imprisonment so long time before his Tryall (which was with more fauour, commiseration, and reliefe then hee deserved) I know not: But being brought forth to the Barre,

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

Barre, to receiue his Triall before this worthie Iudge, and so Honourable and Worshipfull an Assembly of Iustices for this seruice, was so insensible, weake, and vnable in all thinges, as he could neither speake, heare, or stand, but was holden vp when hee was brought to the place of his Arraignement, to receiue his triall.

This *James Deuice* of the Forrest of Pendle, being brought to the Barre, was there according to the forme, order, and course, Indicted and Arraigned; for that hee Felloniously had practised, vsed, and exercised diuers wicked and deuillish Arts, called *Witch-crafts*, *Inchaunments*, *Charmes*, and *Sorceries*, in, and vpon one *Anne Towneley*, wife of *Henrie Towneley* of the Carre, in the Countie of Lancaster Gentleman, and her by force of the same, feloniously had killed. *Contra pacem, &c.*

The said *James Deuice* was the second time Indicted and Arraigned in the same manner and forme, for the death of *John Duckworth*, by witch-craft. *Contra pacem, &c.*

To these two seuerall Indictments vpon his Arraignement, he pleaded not guiltie, and for the triall of his life put himselfe vpon God and his Countrie.

So as now the Gentlemen of the Iurie of life & death stand charged to finde, whether he be guiltie of these, or either of them.

Whereupon Master *Nowel* humbly prayed Master *Towneley* might be called, who attended to prosecute and giue euidence against him for the Kings Majestie, and that the particular Examinations taken before him and others, might be openly published & read in Court, in the hearing of the Prisoner.

### *The Arraignement and Triall*

But because it were infinite to bring him to his particular Triall for euery offence, which hee hath committed in his time, and euery practice wherein he hath had his hand : I shall proceede in order with the Euidence remayning vpon Record against him, amongst the Records of the Crowne ; both how, and in what sort hee came to be a witch: and shew you what apparant prooffe there is to charge him with the death of these two seuerall persons, for the which hee now standeth vpon his triall for al the rest of his deuillish practises, incantations, murders, charmes, forceries, meetings to consult with Witches, to execute mischiefe (take them as they are against him vpon Record : ) Enough, I doubt not. For these with the course of his life will serue his turne to deliuer you from the danger of him that neuer tooke felicitie in any things, but in reuenge, bloud, & mischiefe with crying out vnto God for vengeance ; which hath now at the length brought him to the place where hee standes to receiue his Triall with more honor, fauour, and respect, then such a Monster in Nature doth deserue; And I doubt not, but in due time by the Iustice of the Law, to an vntimely and shamefull death.

*The*

## **The Examination of IAMES DEVICE,**

*sonne of ELIZABETH DEVICE, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, Labourer. Taken the seven and twentieth day of Aprill, Anno<sup>q</sup> Reg. Regis IACOBI, Anglie, &c. x<sup>o</sup>. & Scotie Quadragesimo quinto*

Before

ROGER NOWEL, and NICHOLAS BANNER, Esquires : two of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace within the said Countie.

**H**E saith, that vpon Sheare Thursday was two yeares, his Grand-Mother *Elizabeth Sothermes*, alias *Dembdike*, did bid him this Examinee goe to the church to receiue the Communion (the next day after being Good Friday) and then not to eate the Bread the Minister gaue him, but to bring it and deliuer it to such a thing as should meet him in his way homewards : Notwithstanding her perswasions, this Examinee did eate the Bread : and so in his comming homeward some fortie roodes off the said Church, there met him a thing in the shape of a Hare, who spoke vnto this Examinee, and asked him whether hee had brought the Bread that his Grand-mother had bidden him, or no ? whereupon this Examinee answered, hee had not : and thereupon the said thing threatned to pull this Examinee in peeces, and so this Examinee thereupon marked himselfe to God, and so the said thing vanished out of this Examinees sight. And within some foure daies after that, there appeared in this Examinees sight, hard by the new Church in Pendle, a thing like vnto a browne

### *The Arraignement and Triall*

*Dogge*, who asked this Examinee to giue him his Soule, and he should be reuenged of any whom hee would: whereunto this Examinee answered, that his Soule was not his to giue, but was his *Saniour Iesus Christs*, but as much as was in him this Examinee to giue, he was contented he should haue it.

And within two or three daies after, this Examinee went to the Carre-Hall, and vpon some speeches betwixt Mistris *Towneley* and this Examinee; Shee charging this Examinee and his said mother, to haue stolne some Turues of hers, badde him packe the doores: and withall as he went forth of the doore, the said Mistris *Towneley* gaue him a knock betwene the shoulders: and about a day or two after that, there appeared vnto this Examinee in his way, a thing like vnto a black dog, who put this Examinee in minde of the said Mistris *Towneleys* falling out with him this Examinee; who bad this Examinee make a Picture of Clay, like vnto the said Mistris *Towneley*: and that this Examinee with the helpe of his Spirit (who then euer after bidde this Examinee to call it *Dandy*) would kill or destroy the said Mistris *Towneley*: and so the said dogge vanished out of this Examinates sight. And the next morning after, this Examinee tooke Clay, and made a Picture of the said Mistris *Towneley*, and dried it the same night by the fire: and within a day after, hee, this Examinee began to crumble the said Picture, euery day some, for the space of a weeke: and within two daies after all was crumbled away; the said Mistris *Towneley* died.

And hee further saith, That in Lent last one *Iohn Duckworth* of the Lawnde, promised this Examinee an old shirt: and within a fortnight after, this Examinee went

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

went to the said *Duckworthes* house, and demanded the said old *laine*; but the said *Duckworth* denied him thereof. And going out of the said house, the said Spirit *Dandy* appeared vnto this Examinee, and said, Thou didst touch the said *Duckworth*; whereunto this Examinee answered, he did not touch him: yes (said the Spirit againe) thou didst touch him, and therefore I haue power of him: whereupon this Examinee ioyned with the said Spirit, and then wished the said Spirit to kill the said *Duckworth*: and within one weeke, then next after, *Duckworth* died.

This voluntary Confession and Examination of his owne, containing in it selfe matter sufficient in Law to charge him, and to proue his offences, contained in the two seuerall Indictments, was sufficient to satisfie the Gentlemen of the Iury of Life and Death, that he is guiltie of them, and either of them: yet my Lord *Bromley* commanded, for their better satisfaction, that the Witnesses present in Court against any of the Prisoners, should be examined openly, *viua voce*, that the Prisoner might both heare and answer to euery particular point of their Euidence; notwithstanding any of their Examinations taken before any of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace within the same Countie.

Herein do but obserue the wonderfull work of God; to raise vp a yong Infant, the very sister of the Prisoner, *Jennet Denice*, to discouer, iustifie and proue these things against him at the time of his Arraignement and Triall, as hereafter followeth. *viz.*

*The*

*The Arraignement and Triall*

*The Examination and Euidence of IEN<sup>e</sup>  
NET DEVICE daughter of ELIZABETH DEVICE,  
late wife of IOHN DEVICE of of the Forrest of Pen-  
dle, in the Countie of Lancaster.*

Against

JAMES DEVICE, Prisoner at the Barre, upon his Ar-  
raignment and Triall. viz.

**B**Eing examined in open Court, she saith, That her brother *James Devise*, the Prisoner at the Barre, hath beene a Witch for the space of three yeares: about the beginning of which time, there appeared vnto him, in this Examinate mothers house, a Black-Dogge, which *Dandy*. her said brother called *Dandy*. And further, this Examine confesseth, & saith: That her said brother about a twelue month since, in the presence of this Examine, and in the house aforesaid, called for the said *Dandy*, who thereupon appeared; asking this Examinate brother what he would haue him to doe. This Examinate brother then said, he would haue him to helpe him to kill old Mistris *Towneley* of the Carre: whereunto the said *Dandy* answered, and said, That her said brother should haue his best helpe for the doing of the same; and that her said brother, and the said *Dandy*, did both in this Examinate hearing, say, they would make away the said Mistris *Towneley*. And about a weeke after, this Examine comming to the Carre-Hall, saw the said Mistris *Towneley* in the Kitchin there, nothing well: whereupon it came into this Examinate minde, that her said brother, by the help of *Dandy*, had brought the said Mistris *Towneley* into the state she then was in.

Which

Which Examinat, although she were but very yong, yet it was wonderfull to the Court, in so great a Presence and Audience, with what modestie, gouernement, and vnderstanding, shee deliuered this Euidence against the Prisoner at the Barre, being her owne naturall brother, which he himselfe could not deny, but there acknowledged in euery particular to be iust and true.

But behold a little further, for here this bloody Monster did not stay his hands: for besides his wicked and diuellish Spels, practises, meetings to consult of murder and mischief, which (by Gods grace) hereafter shall follow in order against him; there is yet more bloud to be laid vnto his charge. For although he were but yong, and in the beginning of his Time, yet was he carefull to obserue his Instructions from *Old Demdike* his Grandmother, and *Elizabeth Denice* his mother, in so much that no time should passe since his first entrance into that damnable Arte and exercise of Witchcrafts, Inchantments, Charmes and Sorceries, without mischief or murder. Neither should any man vpon the least occasion of offence giuen vnto him, escape his hands, without some danger. For these particulars were no sooner giuen in Euidence against him, when he was againe Indicted and Arraigned for the murder of these two. *viz.*

*James Denice* of the Forrest of Pendle aforesaid, in the Countie of Lancaster, Labourer, the third time Indicted and Arraigned for the death of *Iohn Hargraues* of Gould-shey-booth, in the Countie of Lancaster, by Witchcraft, as aforesaid. *Contra &c.*

To this Inditement vpon his Arraignement, he pleaded thereunto not guiltie: and for his Triall put himselfe vpon God and his Countrey, &c.

### *The Arraignement and Triall.*

*James Deuice* of the Forrest of Pendle aforesaid, in the County of Lancaster, Labourer, the fourth time Indicted and Arraigned for the death of *Blaze Hargreues* of Higham, in the Countie of Lancaster, by Witchcraft, as aforesaid. *Contra Pacem, &c.*

To this Indictment vpon his Arraignement, he pleaded thereunto not guiltie; and for the Triall of his life, put himselfe vpon God and the Countrey. &c.

Hereupon *Jennet Deuice* produced, sworne and examined, as a witnesse on his Maiesties behalfe, against the said *James Deuice*; was examined in open Court, as followeth. *viz.*

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### *The Examination and Euidence of JENNET DEVICE aforesaid.*

Against

*JAMES DEVICE*, her brother, Prisoner at the Barre, vpon his Arraignement and Triall: *viz.*

**B**Eing sworne and examined in open Court, she saith, That her brother *James Deuice* hath beene a Witch for the space of three yeares: about the beginning of which time, there appeared vnto him, in this Examines mothers house, a Blacke-Dogge, which her said brother called *Dandy*, which *Dandy* did aske her said brother what he would haue him to doe, whereunto he answered, hee would haue him to kill *John Hargreines*, of Gold-shey-booth: whereunto *Dandy* answered that he would doe it; since which time the said *John* is dead.

And

And at another time this Examinee confesseth and saith, That her said brother did call the said *Dandy*: who thereupon appeared in the said house, asking this Examinees brother what hee would haue him to doe: whereupon this Examinees said brother said, he would haue him to kill *Blaze Hargreines* of Higham: whereupon *Dandy* answered, hee should haue his best helpe, and so vanished away: and shee saith, that since that time the said *Hargreines* is dead; but how long after, this Examinee doth not now remember.

All which things, when he heard his sister vpon her Oath affirme, knowing them in his conscience to bee iust and true, slenderly denyed them, and thereupon insisted.

To this Examination were diuerse witnesses examined in open Court *viva voce*, concerning the death of the parties, in such manner and forme, and at such time as the said *Jennet Denice* in her Euidence hath formerly declared to the Court.

Which is all, and I doubt not but matter sufficient in Law to charge him with, for the death of these parties.

For the prooffe of his Practises, Charmes, Meetings at Malking-Tower, to consult with Witches to execute mischief, Master *Norrell* humbly prayed; his owne Examination taken and certified, might openly be read; and the rest in order, as they remaine vpon Record amongst the Records of the Crowne at Lancaster: as hereafter followeth, viz.

*The Examination of IAMES DE-  
VICE, Sonne of ELIZABETH DEVICE, of the For-  
rest of Pendle : Taken the seuen and twentieth day of  
Aprill aforesaid,*

Before

ROGER NOVVEL and NICHOLAS BANESTER  
*Esquires, two of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace within  
the said Countie, viz.*

**A**ND being examined, he further saith, That vpon  
Sheare-Thurdsday last, in the euening, he this Exa-  
minate stole a Wether from *John Robinson* of Barley,  
and brought it to his Grand-mothers house, old *Demb-  
dike*, and there killed it: and that vpon the day follow-  
ing, being Good-Friday, about twelue of the clocke in  
the day time, there dined in this Examinate's mothers  
house a number of persons, whereof three were men,  
with this Examinee, and the rest women; and that they  
met there for three Causes following, as this Exami-  
nate's said Mother told this Examinee.

1. The first was, for the naming of the Spirit which  
*Alizon Deuice*, now prisoner at Lancaster, had, but did  
not name him, because she was not there.

2. The second Cause was, for the deliuerie of his said  
Grand-mother; this Examinee's said sister *Alizon*; the  
said *Anne Chattox*, and her daughter *Redferne*; killing  
the Gaoler at Lancaster; and before the next Assises to  
blow vp the Castle there, to the end the aforesaid per-  
sons might by that meanes make an escape & get away:  
all which this Examinee then heard them conferre of;

3. And the third Cause was, for that there was a wo-  
man

man dwelling in Gisborne Parish, who came into this Examinate's said Grandmother's house, who there came and craved assistance of the rest of them that were then there, for the killing of Master *Lisler* of Westby, because (as shee then said) he had borne malice vnto her, and had thought to haue put her away at the last Affises at Yorke, but could not: and this Examinee heard the said woman say, That her power was not strong ynough to doe it her selfe, being now lesse then before time it had bene.

And also, that the said *Iennet Preston* had a Spirit with her like vnto a white Foale, with a blacke spot in the forehead.

And he also saith, That the names of the said Witches as were on Good-Friday at this Examinate's said Grandmother's house, & now this Examinate's owne mothers, for so many of them as he did know, were these, *viz.* the wife of *Hugh Hargreues* of Barley; the wife of *Christopher Bulcock* of the Mosse end; and *John* her sonne; the mother of *Myles Nutter*; *Elizabeth*, the wife of *Christopher Hargreues*, of Thurniholme; *Christopher Howgate*, and *Elizabeth* his wife; *Alice Graye* of Coulne, and one *Mouldbeeles* wife, of the same: and this Examinee, and his Mother. And this Examinee further saith, That all the said Witches went out of the said House in their owne shapen and likenesses. And they all, by that they were forth of the dores, were gotten on Horsebacke, like vnto Foales, some of one colour, some of another; and *Prestons* wife was the last: and when shee got on Horsebacke, they all presently vanished out of this Examinate's sight. And before their said parting away, they all appointed to meete at the said *Prestons*

*The Arraignement and Triall*

wiues house that day twelue-moneths; at which time the said *Prestons* wife promised to make them a great Feast. And if they had occasion to meete in the meane time, then should warning be giuen, that they all should meete vpon *Romleyes Moore*.

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*The Examination and Euidence of*  
JENNET DEVICE.

Against

JAMES DEVICE her said Brother, Prisoner at the Barre, vpon his Arraignement and Triall: Taken before ROGER NOWEL, and NICHOLAS BANNER, Esquires: two of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace within the said Countie. viz.

Shee saith, that vpon Good-Friday last there was about twentie persons, whereof only two were men, to this Examines remembrance, at her said Grandmothers house, called *Malking-Tower* aforesaid, about twelue of the clock: all which persons this Examines said Mother told her were Witches, and that they came to giue a name to *Alizon Devise* Spirit or Familiar, Sister to this Examinee, and now Prisoner, in the Castle of Lancaster: And also this Examinee saith, that the persons aforesaid had to their Dinnors, Beefe, Bacon, and roasted Mutton, which Mutton, as this Examines said brother said, was of a Weather of *Robinsons* of Barley: which Weather was brought in the night before into this Examines mothers house, by the said *James Devise* this

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

this Examinate said brother, and in this Examinate sight killed, and eaten; as aforesaid: And shee further saith, that shee knoweth the names of sixe of the said Witches, *viz.* the wife of the said *Hugh Hargreines*, vnder Pendle: *Christopher Howget*, of Pendle, Vncle to this Examinee: and *Dick Miles* wife, of the Rough-Lee: *Christopher Jacks*, of Thorne-holme, and his Wife: and the names of the residue shee this Examinee doth not know, sauing that this Examinate Mother and Brother were both there.

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*The Examination of ELIZABETH*

*DEVICE, Mother of the said JAMES DEVICE, of the Forrest of Pendle: taken the seven and twentieth day of Aprill aforesaid.*

Before

*ROGER NOWEL, and NICHOLAS BANNERSTER, Esquires; as aforesaid. viz.*

**B**Eing examined, the said *Elizabeth* saith and confesseth, that vpon Good-Friday last there dined at this Examinate house, those which she hath said to be Witches, and doth verily thinke them to bee Witches, and their names are those, whom *James Devise* hath formerly spoken of to be there.

And shee also confesseth in all things touching the Christning of her Spirit, and the killing of Master *Lister* of Westby, as the said *James Devise* confesseth. But denieth that any talke was amongst the said Witches, to her now remembrance, at the said meeting together,  
tou-

*The Arraignement and Trial*

touching the killing of the Gaoler at Lancaster; blowing vp of the Castle; thereby to deliuer old *Demb* like her Mother; *Alizon Denice* her Daughter, and other Prisoners, committed to the said Castle for Witchcraft.

After all these things opened, and deliuered in euidence against him; Master *Conil*, who hath the custodie of the Gaole at Lancaster, having taken great paines with him during the time of his imprisonment, to procure him to discouer his practizes, and such other Witches as he knew to bee dangerous; Humbly prayed the fauour of the Court, that his voluntarie confession to M. *Ander-ton*, M. *Sands* the Major of Lancaster, M. *Couel*, and others, might openly bee published and declared in Court.

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*The voluntarie confession and declaration of JAMES DEVICE, Prisoner in the Castle at Lancaster.*

Before

WILLIAM SANDS, *Maio*r of Lancaster, JAMES ANDERTON, *Esquire*, one of his *Maiesties* *Iustices* of Peace within the Countie of Lancaster: And THOMAS COVEL, *Gentleman*, one of his *Maiesties* *Coroners* in the same Countie. *viz.*

I *Ames Denice*, Prisoner in the Castle at Lancaster, saith; That his said Spirit *Dandie*, being very earnest with him

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

him to giue him his soule, He answered, he would giue him that part thereof that was his owne to giue : and thereupon the said Spirit said, hee was aboue **CHRIST IESVS**, and therefore hee must absolutely giue him his Soule: and that done, hee would giue him power to reuenge himseife against any whom he disliked.

And he further saith, that the said Spirit did appeare vnto him after sundrie times, in the likenesse of a Dogge, and at euery time most earnestly perswaded him to giue him his Soule absolutely: who answered as before, that he would giue him his owne part and no further. And hee saith, that at the last time that the said Spirit was with him, which was the Tuesday next before his apprehension, when as hee could not preuaile with him to haue his Soule absolutely granted vnto him, as afore-said; the said Spirit departed from him, then giuing a most fearefull crie and yell, and withall caused a great flash of fire to shew about him: which said Spirit did neuer after trouble this Examinee.

*William Sands,*

*James Anderton.*

*Tho. Couel, Coroner.*

The said *Jennet Denice*, his Sister, in the very end of her Examination against the said *James Denice*, confesseth and saith, that her Mother taught her two Prayers: the one to get drinke, which was this. *viz.*

*Crucifixus hoc signum vitam  
Eternam. Amen.*

K

And

### *The Arraignement and Triall*

And shee further saith, That her Brother *James De-nice*, the Prisoner at the Barre, hath confessed to her this Examinee, that he by this Prayer hath gotten drinke: and that within an houre after the saying the said Prayer, drinke hath come into the house after a very strange manner. And the other Prayer, the said *James Deuse* affirmed, would cure one bewitched, which shee recited as followeth. *viz.*

### *A Charme.*

Vpon Good-Friday, I will fast while I may  
Vntill I heare them knell  
Our Lords owne Bell,  
Lord in his messe.  
With his twelue Apostles good,  
What hath he in his hand  
Ligh in leath wand:  
What hath he in his other hand?  
Heauens doore key,  
Open, open Heauen doore keyes,  
Steck, steck hell doore.  
Let Crizum child  
Go to it Mather mild,  
What is yonder that casts a light so farr andly,  
Mine owne deare Sonne that's naid to the Tree.  
He is naid sore by the heart and hand,  
And holy barne Panne,  
Well is that man:  
That Fryday spell can,  
His Childe to learne;  
A Crosse of Blew, and another of Red;

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

*As good Lord was to the Roode.  
Gabriel laid him downe to sleepe  
Vpon the ground of holy weepe:  
Good Lord came walking by,  
Sleep'st thou, wak'st thou Gabriel,  
No Lord I am sted with sticke and stake,  
That I can neither sleepe nor wake:  
Rise vp Gabriel and goe with me,  
The stick nor the stake shall neuer deere thee.  
Sweete Iesus our Lord, Amen.*

*James Deuice.*

What can be said more of this painfull Steward, that was so carefull to prouide Mutton against this Feast and solemne meeting at *Malking-Tower*, of these hellish and diuellish band of Witches, (the like whereof hath not been heard of) then hath beene openly published and declared against him at the Barre, vpon his Arraignement and Triall: wherein it pleased God to raise vp Witnesses beyond expectation to conuince him; besides his owne particular Examinations, which being shewed and read vnto him; he acknowledged to be iust and true. And what I promised to set forth against him, in the beginning of his Arraignement and Triall, I doubt not but therein I haue satisfied your expectation at large, wherein I haue beene very sparing to charge him with anything, but with sufficient matter of Record and Euidence, able to satisfie the consciences of the Gentlemen of the Iury of Life and Death; to whose good consideration I leaue him, with the perpetuall Badge and Brand of as dangerous and malicious a Witch, as euer liued in these parts of Lancashire, of his time: and spotted

*The Arraignement and Triall*

ted with as much Innocent bloud, as euer any Witch of his yeares.

After all these proceedings, by direction of his Lordship, were their seuerall Examinations, subscribed by euery one of them in particular, shewed vnto them at the time of their Triall, & acknowledged by the to be true, deliuered to the gentlemen of the Iury of Life & Death, for the better satisfaction of their consciences: after due consideration of which said seuerall examinations, confessions, and voluntary declarations, as well of themselves as of their children, friends and confederates, The Gentlemen deliuered vp their Verdict against the Prisoners, as followeth. *viz.*

*The Verdict of Life and Death.*

**W**Ho found *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, *Elizabeth Deuice*, and *James Deuice*, guiltie of the seuerall murders by Witchcraft, contained in the Indictments against them, and euery of them.

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THE

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THE WITCHES OF  
SALMESBURY.

*The Arraignement and Triall of IEN-  
NET BIERLEY ELLEN BIERLEY, and IANE  
SOUTHVORTH of Salmesbury, in the County of  
Lancaster; for Witchcraft upon the bodie of GRACE  
SOVERBUTTS, upon Wednesday the nineteenth of  
August: At the Assises and generall Gaole-delivry,  
holden at Lancaster.*

Before

*Sir EDWARD BROMLEY Knight, one of his Ma-  
iesties Iustices of Assize at Lancaster: as hereafter fol-  
loweth. viz.*

*Iennet Bierley.*

*Ellen Bierley.*

*Iane Southworth.*



Hus haue we for a time left the Graund  
Witches of the Forrest of Pendle, to the  
good consideration of a verie sufficient  
Iury of worthy Gentlemen of their Cou-  
trety. We are now come to the famous  
Witches of Salmesbury, as the Countrey called them,

### *The Arraignement and Triall*

who by such a subtile practise and conspiracie of a Seminarie Priest, or, as the best in this Honorable Assembly thinke, a Iesuite, whereof this Countie of Lancaster hath good store, who by reason of the generall entertainment they find, and great maintenance they haue, resort hither, being farre from the Eye of Iustice, and therefore, *Procul a fulmine*; are now brought to the Barre, to receiue their Triall, and such a young witnessse prepared and instructed to giue Euidence against them, that it must be the Act of God that must be the means to discouer their Practises and Murthers, and by an infant: but how and in what sort Almighty God deliuered them from the stroake of Death, when the Axe was layd to the Tree, and made frustrate the practise of this bloudie Butcher, it shall appeare vnto you vpon their Arraignement and Triall, whereunto they are now come.

Master *Thomas Couel*, who hath the charge of the prisoners in the Castle at Lancaster, was commaunded to bring forth the said

*Jennet Bierley,*

*Ellen Bierley,*

*Jane Southworth,*

to the Barre to receiue their Triall.

### *Indi&ament.*

THE said *Jennet Bierley*, *Ellen Bierly*, and *Jane Southworth* of *Salmesbury*, in the Countie of *Lancaster*, be-

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

being indicted, for that they and euery of them feloniously had practised, exercised, and vsed diuerse deuillish and wicked Arts, called *Witchcrafts*, *Inchaunments*, *Charmes*, and *Sorceries*, in and vpon one *Grace Sowerbutts*: so that by meanes thereof her bodie wasted and consumed, *Contra formam Statuti &c. Et Contra Pacem dicti Domini Regis Coronam & dignitatem &c.*

To this Indictment vpon their Arraignment, they pleaded *Not-Guiltie*; and for the Triall of their liues put themselves vpon God and their Countrey.

Whereupon Master Sheriffe of the Countie of Lancaster, by direction of the Court, made returne of a very sufficient Iurie to passe betweene the Kings Maiestie and them, vpon their liues and deaths, with such others as follow in order.

The Prisoners being now at the Barre vpon their Triall, *Grace Sowerbutts*, the daughter of *Thomas Sowerbutts*, about the age of foureteene yeares, was produced to giue Euidence for the Kings Maiestie against

them: who standing vp, she was commaunded to point out the Prisoners, which

shee did, and said as fol-

loweth, *viz.*

\* \*  
\* \*

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*The*

*The Examination and Euidence of*

GRACE SOVERBVTTTS, daughter of THOMAS  
SOVERBVTTTS, of Salmesbury, in the Countie of  
Lancaster Husband-man, vpon her Oath,

Against

JENNET BIERLEY, ELLEN BIERLEY, and  
IANE SOUTHWORTH, prisoners at the Barre, vpon  
their Arraignement and Triall, viz.

THE said *Grace Soverbutts* vpon her oath saith, That  
for the space of some yeares now last past shee hath  
beene haunted and vexed with some women, who haue  
vsed to come to her: which women, shee sayth, were  
*Jennet Bierley*, this Informers Grand-mother; *Ellen Bier-*  
*ley*, wife to *Henry Bierley*; *Iane Southworth*, late the wife  
of *Iohn Southworth*, and one *Old Doe-wife*, all of *Salmes-*  
*burie* aforesaid. And shee saith, That now lately those  
foure women did violently draw her by the haire of the  
head, and layd her on the toppe of a Hay-mowe, in  
the said *Henry Bierleys* Barne. And shee saith further,  
That not long after the said *Jennet Bierley* did meete  
this Examinee neere vnto the place where shee dwel-  
leth, and first appeared in her owne likenesse, and after  
that in the likenesse of a blacke Dogge, and as this Exa-  
minate did goe ouer a Style, shee picked her off: how-  
beit shee saith shee had no hurt then, but rose againe,  
and went to her Aunts in *Osbaideston*, and returned  
backe againe to her Fathers house the same night, be-  
ing fetched home by her father. And she saith, That  
in her way home-wards shee did then tell her Father,  
how

how shee had beene dealt withall both then and at sundry times before that; and before that time she neuer told any bodie thereof: and being examined why she did not, she sayth, she could not speake thereof, though she desired so to doe. And she further sayth, That vpon Saturday, being the fourth of this instant Aprill, shee this Examine going towards Salmsbury bote, to meete her mother, comming from Preston, shee saw the said *Jennet Bierley*, who met this Examine at a place called the Two Brigges, first in her owne shape, and afterwards in the likenesse of a blacke Dogge, with two legges, which Dogge went close by the left side of this Examine, till they came to a Pitte of Water, and then the said Dogge spake, and perswaded this Examine to drowne her selfe there, saying, it was a faire and an easie death: Whereupon this Examine thought there came one to her in a white sheete, and carried her away from the said Pitte, vpon the comming whereof the said blacke Dogge departed away; and shortly after the said white thing departed also: And after this Examine had gone further on her way, about the length of two or three Fields, the said blacke Dogge did meete her againe, and going on her left side, as aforesaid, did carrie her into a Barne of one *Hugh Walsbmans*, neere there by, and layed her vpon the Barne-floore, and couered this Examine with Straw on her bodie, and Haye on her head, and the Dogge it selfe lay on the toppe of the said Straw, but how long the said Dogge lay there, this Examine cannot tell, nor how long her selfe lay there: for shee sayth, That vpon her lying downe there, as aforesaid, her Speech and Senles were taken from her: and the first

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time

*The Arraignement and Triall*

time shee knew where shee was, shee was layed vpon a bedde in the said *Walshmans* house, which (as shee hath since beene told) was vpon the Monday at night following: and shee was also told, That shee was found and taken from the place where shee first lay, by some of her friends, and carried into the said *Walshmans* house, within a few houres after shee was layed in the Barne, as afore said. And shee further sayth, That vpon the day following, being Tuesday, neere night of the same day, shee this Examine was fetched by her Father and Mother from the said *Walshmans* house to her Fathers house. And shee saith, That at the place before specified, called the Two Brigges, the said *Jennet Bierley* and *Ellen Bierley* did appeare vnto her in their owne shapes: whereupon this Examine fell downe, and after that was not able to speake, or goe, till the Friday following: during which time, as she lay in her Fathers house, the said *Jennet Bierley* and *Ellen Bierley* did once appeare vnto her in their owne shapes, but they did nothing vnto her then, neither did shee euer see them since. And shee further sayth, That a good while before all this, this Examine did goe with the said *Jennet Bierley*, her Grand-mother, and the said *Ellen Bierley* her Aunt, at the bidding of her said Grand-mother, to the house of one *Thomas Walshman*, in *Salisbury* afore said. And comming thither in the night, when all the house-hold was abed, the doores being shut, the said *Jennet Bierley* did open them, but this Examine knoweth not how: and beeing come into the said house, this Examine and the said *Ellen Bierley* stayed there, and the said *Jennet Bierley* went into the Chamber where

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

where the said *Walshman* and his wife lay; & from thence brought a little child, which this Examinee thinketh was in bed with it Father and Mother: and after the said *Jennet Bierley* had set her downe by the fire, with the said child, shee did thrust a naile into the nauell of the said child: and afterwards did take a pen and put it in at the said place, and did suck there a good space, and afterwards laid the child in bed againe: and then the said *Jennet* and the said *Ellen* returned to their owne houses, and this Examinee with them. And shee thinketh that neither the said *Thomas Walshman*, nor his wife knew that the said child was taken out of the bed from them. And shee saith also, that the said child did not crie when it was hurt, as aforesaid: But she saith, that shee thinketh that the said child did thenceforth languish; and not long after dyed. And after the death of the said child; the next night after the buriall thereof, the said *Jennet Bierley* & *Ellen Bierley*, taking this Examinee with them, went to Salmesburie Church, and there did take vp the said child, and the said *Jennet* did carrie it out of the Church-yard in her armes, and then did put it in her lap and carryed it home to her owne house, and hauing it there did boile some therof in a Pot, and some did broile on the coales, of both which the said *Jennet* and *Ellen* did eate, and would haue had this Examinee and one *Grace Bierley*, Daughter of the said *Ellen*, to haue eaten with them, but they refused so to doe: And afterwards the said *Jennet* & *Ellen* did see the bones of the said child in a pot, & with the Fat that came out of the said bones, they said they would annoint themselves, that thereby they might sometimes change themselves into other shapes. And after all this being done, they said they

*The Arraignement and Triall.*

would lay the bones againe in the graue the next night following, but whether they did so or not, this Examine knoweth not: Neither doth shee know how they got it out of the graue at the first taking of it vp. And being further sworne and examined, she deposeth & saith, that about halfe a yeare agoe, the said *Jennet Bierley, Ellen Bierley, Jane Southworth*, and this Examine (who went by the appointment of the said *Jennet* her Grand mother) did meete at a place called Red banck, vpon the North-side of the water of Ribble, euery Thursday and Sondag at night by the space of a fortnight, and at the water side there came vnto them, as they went thether, foure black things, going vpright, and yet not like men in the face: which foure did carrie the said three women and this Examine ouer the Water, and when they came to the said Red Banck, they found some thing there which they did eate. But this Examine saith, shee neuer saw such meate; and therefore shee durst not eate thereof, although her said Grand mother did bidde her eate. And after they had eaten, the said three Women and this Examine danced, euery one of them with one of the black things aforesaid, and after their dancing the said black things did pull downe the said three Women, and did abuse their bodies, as this Examine thinketh, for shee saith, that the black thing that was with her, did abuse her bodie.

The said Examine further saith vpon her Oth, That about ten dayes after her Examination taken at Blackborne, shee this Examine being then come to her Fathers house againe, after shee had beene certaine dayes at her Vnckles house in Houghton: *Jane Southworth* widow, did meet this Examine at her Fathers house dore and

and did carrie her into the loft, and there did lay her vpon the floore, where shee was shortly found by her Father and brought downe, and laid in a bed, as afterwards shee was told: for shee saith, that from the first meeting of the said *Iane Southworth*, shee this Examinee had her speech and senses taken from her. But the next day shee saith, shee came somewhat to her selfe, and then the said Widow *Southworth* came againe to this Examinee to her bed-side, and tooke her out of bed, and said to this Examinee, that shee did her no harme the other time, in respect of that shee now would after doe to her, and thereupon put her vpon a hey-stack, standing some three or foure yards high from the earth, where shee was found after great search made, by a neighbours Wife neare dwelling, and then laid in her bed againe, where she remained speechlesse and senselesse as before, by the space of two or three daies: And being recovered, within a weeke after shee saith, that the said *Iane Southworth* did come againe to this Examinee at her fathers house and did take her away, and laid her in a ditch neare to the house vpon her face, and left her there, where shee was found shortly after, and laid vpon a bedde, but had not her senses againe of a day & a night, or thereabouts. And shee further saith, that vpon Tuesday last before the taking of this her Examination, the said *Iane Southworth* came to this Examinates Fathers house, and finding this Examinee without the doore, tooke her and carried her into the Barne, and thrust her head amongst a companie of boords that were there standing, where shee was shortly after found and laid in a bedde, and remained in her old fit till the Thursday at night following.

*The Arraignement and Triall*

And being further examined touching her being at Red-banke, shee saith, That the three women, by her before named, were carried backe againe ouer Ribble, by the same blacke things that carried them thither; and saith that at their said meeting in the Red-banke, there did come also diuers other women, and did meete them there, some old, some yong, which this Examinee thinketh did dwell vpon the North-side of Ribble, because she saw them not come ouer the Water: but this Examinee knew none of them, neither did she see them eat or dance, or doe any thing else that the rest did, sauing that they were there and looked on.

These particular points of Euidence being thus vrged against the Prisoners: the father of this *Grace Sowerbutts* prayed that *Thomas Walsman*, whose childe they are charged to murther, might be examined as a witnes vpon his oath, for the Kings Maiestie, against the Prisoners at the Barre: who vpon this strange deuised accusation, deliuered by this impudent wench, were in opinion of many of that great Audience guilty of this bloudie murther, and more worthy to die then any of these Witches.

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*The*

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*of Witches at Lancaster.*

*The Examination and Evidence of*  
THOMAS WALSHMAN, *of Salmesbury, in the*  
*Countie of Lancaster, Yeoman.*

Against

JENNET BIERLEY, ELLEN BIERLEY, and  
IANE SOUTHWORTH, *Prisoners at the Barre, vpon*  
*their Arraignement and Triall, as followeth. viz.*

THE said Examinee, *Thomas Walshman*, vpon his oath  
saith, That hee had a childe died about Lent was  
twelue-month, who had beene sicke by the space of a  
fortnight or three weekes, and was afterwards buried in  
Salmesburie Church: which childe when it died was a-  
bout a yeare old; But how it came to the death of it this  
Examinee knoweth not. And he further saith, that a-  
bout the fifteenth of Aprill last, or thereabouts, the  
said *Grace Sowerbutts* was found in this Examinates fa-  
thers Barne, laid vnder a little hay and straw, and from  
thence was carried into this Examinates house,  
and there laid till the Monday at night fol-  
lowing: during which time shee did  
not speak, but lay as if she had  
beene dead.

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*The*

*The Arraignement and Triall*

**The Examination of Iohn SINGLE-**

**TON:** Taken at Salmesbury, in the Countie of Lancaster,  
*the seuenth day of August: Anno Reg. Regis IACOBI*  
*Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Fidei Defensor. &c.*  
*Decimo & Scotiæ, xlvj.*

Before

**ROBERT HOVLDEN,** *Esquire, one of his Almeslies*  
*Iustices of Peace in the County of Lancaster.*

Against.

**JENNET BIERLEY, ELLEN BIERLEY, and**  
**IANE SOUTHWORTH,** *which hereafter followeth.*

**T**He said Examine vpon his oath saith, That hee  
hath often heard his old Master, Sir *Iohn Southworth*  
Knight, now deceased, say, touching the late wife of  
*Iohn Southworth*, now in the Gaole, for suspicion of  
Witchcraft: That the said wife was as he thought an  
euill woman, and a Witch: and he said that he was for-  
ry for her husband, that was his kinsman, for he thought  
she would kill him. And this Examine further saith,  
That the said Sir *Iohn Southworth* in his comming or  
going betweene his owne house at Salmesbury, and the  
Towne of Preston, did for the most part forbear to  
passe by the house, where the said wife dwelled, though  
it was his nearest and best way; and rode another way,  
only for feare of the said wife, as this Examine verily  
thinketh.

*The*

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

## *The Examination of WILLIAM*

*ALKER of Salmesbury, in the Countie of Lancaster,  
Teoman: Taken the fifteenth day of April, Anno Reg.  
Regis IACOBI, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Decimo  
& Scotiæ, quadragesimo quinto.*

Before

*ROBERT HOVLDEN, one of his Maiesties Iustices  
of Peace in the County of Lancaster: Against IENNET  
BIERLEY, ELLEN BIERLEY, and IANE BIER-  
LEY, which hereafter followeth. viz.*

**T**He said Examinee vpon his oath saith, That hee hath seene the said Sir *Iohn Southworth* shunne to meet the said wife of *Iohn Southworth*, now Prisoner in the Gaole, when he came neere where she was. And hath heard the said Sir *Iohn Southworth* say, that he liked her not, and that he doubted she would bewitch him.

Here was likewise *Thomas Sowerbutts*, father of *Grace Sowerbutts*, examined vpon his oath, and many other witnesses to little purpose: who being examined by the Court, could depose little against them: But the finding of the wench vpon the hay in her counterfeit fits: wherefore I leaue to trouble you with the particular declaration of their Euidence against the Prisoners, In respect there was not any one witnes able to charge them with, one direct matter of Withcraft; nor proue any thing for the murther of the childe.

Herein, before we come to the particular declaration of that wicked and damnable practise of this Iesuite or Seminary. I shall commend vnto your examination and iudgement some points of her Euidence, wherein you

M

shall

*The Arraignement and Triall*

that see what impossibilities are in this accusation brought to this perfection, by the great care and paines of this officious Doctor, Master Tompson or Southworth, who commonly worketh vpon the Feminine disposition, being more Passiue then Actiue.

*The particular points of the Euidence of*  
GRACE SOVERBUTTS, viz.

Euidence.

**T**hat for the space of some yeares she hath been haunted and vexed with some women, who haue vsed to come to her.

The Iesuite forgot to instruct his Scholler how long it is since she was tormented: it seemes it is long since he read the old Badge of a Lye, *Oportet mendacem esse memorem*. He knowes not how long it is since they came to church, after which time they began to practise Witchcraft. It is a likely thing the Torment and Panges of Witchcraft can be forgotten; and therefore no time can be set downe.

*Shee saith that now lately these foure women did violently draw her by the haire of the head, and lay her on the top of a Hay-mow.*

Hecce they vse great violence to her, whome in another place they make choise to be of their counsell, to go with them to the house of *Walsman* to murder the childe. This courtesie deserues no discovery of so foule a Fact.

*Not*

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

*Not long after, the said Iennet Bierley did meet this  
Examinee neere unto the place where she dwelled,  
and first appeared in her owne likenesse, and after  
that in the likenesse of a blacke Dogge.*

*Vno & eodem tempore, shee transformed her selfe into  
a Dogge. I would know by what meanes any Priest can  
maintaine this point of Euidence.*

*And as shee went ouer a Style, shee picked her ouer,  
but had no hurt.*

This is as likely to be true as the rest, to throw a  
child downe from the toppe of a House, and neuer  
hurt her great toe.

*She rose againe; had no hurt, went to her Aunt,  
and returned backe againe to her Fathers house,  
being fetched home.*

I pray you obserue these contrarieties, in order as  
they are placed, to accuse the Prisoners.

*Saterday the fourth of this instant Aprill.*

Which was about the very day the Witches of the  
Forrest of Pendle were sent to Lancaster. Now was  
the time for the Seminarie to instruct, accuse, and call  
into question these poore women: for the wrinkles of  
an old wifes face is good euidence to the Iurie against  
a Witch. And how often will the common people say  
(*Her eyes are sunke in her head, God blesse vs from her.*)  
But old Chattox had Fancie, besides her withered face,  
to accuse her.

### *The Arraignement and Triall*

*This Examinee did goe with the said Iennet Bierley her Grand-mother, and Ellen Bierley her Aunt, to the house of Walshman, in the night-time, to murder a Child in a strange manner.*

This of all the rest is impossible, to make her of their counsell, to doe murder, whome so cruelly and barbarously they pursue from day to day, and torment her. The Witches of the Forrest of Pendle were neuer so cruell nor barbarous.

*And she also saith, the Child cried not when it was hurt.*

All this time the Child was asleepe, or the Child was of an extraordinarie patience, *o inauditum facinus!*

*After they had eaten, the said three women and this Examinee daunced euery one of them with one of the Blacke things: and after, the Blacke things abused the said women.*

Here is good Euidence to take away their liues. This is more proper for the Legend of Lyes, then the Euidence of a witnesse vpon Oath, before a reuerend and learned Iudge, able to conceiue this Villanie, and finde out the practife. Here is the Religious act of a Priest, but behold the euent of it.

*Shee describes the foure Blacke things to goe upright, but not like Men in the face.*

The Seminarie mistakes the face for the secte: For Chattox and all her fellow Witches agree, the Deuill is clouen-footed: but *Fancie* had a very good face, and was a very proper Man.

*About*

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

*About tenne dayes after her Examination taken at  
Black-borne, then she was tormented.*

Still he pursues his Project: for hearing his Scholler had done well, he laboured she might doe more in this nature. But notwithstanding, many things are layd to be in the times when they were Papists: yet the Priest neuer tooke paines to discouer them, nor instruct his Scholler, vntill they came to Church. Then all this was the Act of God, to raise a child to open all things, and then to discouer his plotted Tragedie. Yet in this great discouerie, the Seminarie forgot to deuise a Spirit for them.

And for *Thomas Walsman*, vpon his Oath he sayth, That his Child had beene sicke by the space of a fortnight, or three weekes, before it died. And *Grace Sowerbuts* saith, they tooke it out of the bedde, stricke a nayle into the Nauell, sucked bloud, layd it downe againe, and after, tooke it out of the Graue, with all the rest, as you haue heard. How these two agree, you may, vpon view of their Euidence, the better conceiue, and be able to judge.

How well this project, to take away the liues of three innocent poore creatures by practise and villanie; to induce a young Scholler to commit perurie, to accuse her owne Grand-mother, Aunt, &c. agrees either with the Title of a Iesuite, or the dutie of a Religious Priest, who should rather professe Sinceritie and Innocencie, then practise Trecherie: But this was lawfull; for they are Heretikes accursed, to leaue the companie of Priests; to frequent Churches, heare the word of God preached, and professe Religion sincerely.

*The Arraignement and Triall*

But by the course of Times and Accidents, wise men obserue, that very seldome hath any mischieuous attempt beene vnder-taken without the direction or assistance of a Iesuit, or Seminarie Priest.

Who did not condemne these Women vpon this euidence, and hold them guiltie of this so foule and horrible murder? But Almighty God, who in his prouidence had provided meanes for their deliuerance, although the Priest by the helpe of the Deuill, had provided false witnessses to accuse them; yet God had prepared and placed in the Seate of Iustice, an vpright Iudge to sit in Iudgement vpon their liues, who after he had heard all the euidence at large against the Prisoners for the Kings Majestie, demanded of them what answere they could make. They humbly vpon their knees with weeping teares, desired him for Gods cause to examine *Grace Sowerbuts*, who set her on, or by whose meanes this accusation came against them.

Immediately the countenance of this *Grace Sowerbuts* changed: The witnessses being behinde, began to quarrell and accuse one an other. In the end his Lordship examined the Girle, who could not for her life make any direct answere, but strangely amazed, told him, shee was put to a Master to learne, but he told her nothing of this.

But here as his Lordships care and paines was great to discover the practises of these odious Witches of the Forrest of Pendle, and other places, now vpon their triall before him: So was he desirous to discover this damnable practise, to accuse these poore Women, and bring their liues in danger, and thereby to deliuer the innocent.

And

And as he openly deliuered it vpon the Bench, in the hearing of this great Audience: That if a Priest or Iesuit had a hand in one end of it, there would appeare to be knauerie, and practise in the other end of it. And that it might the better appeare to the whole World, examined *Thomas Sowerbuts*, what Master taught his daughter: in generall termes, he denied all.

The Wench had nothing to say, but her Master told her nothing of this. In the end, some that were present told his Lordship the truth, and the Prisoners informed him how shee went to learne with one *Thompson* a Seminarie Priest, who had instructed and taught her this accusation against them, because they were once obstinate Papists, and now came to Church. Here is the discoverie of this Priest, and of his whole practise. Still this fire encreased more and more, and one witness accusing an other, all things were laid open at large.

In the end his Lordship tooke away the Girle from her Father, and committed her to *M. Leigh*, a very religious Preacher, and *M. Chisnal*, two Iustices of the Peace, to be carefully examined. Who tooke great paines to examine her of euery particular point: In the end they came into the Court, and there deliuered this Examination as followeth.

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*The*

*The Examination of GRACE SOWER-*

*BVTS, of Salmesburie, in the Countie of Lancaster, Spinster: Taken upon Wednesday the 19. of August 1612. Annoq; Reg. Regis, IACOBI Anglia, Francia, & Hibernia, Fidei Defensoris, &c. decimo & Scotia, xlii.*

Before

WILLIAM LEIGH, and EDWARD CHISNAL,  
*Esquires; two of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace in the same Countie: At the Assizes and generall Gaole deliuerie, holden at Lancaster.*

By

*Direction of Sir EDWARD BROMLEY Knight, one of his Maiesties Iustices of Assize at Lancaster.*

**B**Eing demanded whether the accusation shee laid vpon her Grand-mother, *Iennet Bierley, Ellen Bierley, and Iane Southworth*, of Witchcraft, viz. of the killing of the child of *Thomas Walsbman*, with a naile in the Naucell, the boyling, eating, and oyling, thereby to transforme themselves into diuers shapes, was true; shee doth vterly denie the same; or that euer shee saw any such practises done by them.

Shee further saith, that one Master *Thompson*, which she taketh to be Master *Christopher Southworth*, to whom shee was sent to learne her prayers, did perswade, counsell, and aduise her, to deale as formerly hath beene said against her said Grand-mother, Aunt, and *Southworths* wife.

And

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

And further shee confesseth and saith, that shee neuer did know, or saw any Deuils, nor any other Visions, as formerly by her hath beene alleaged and informed.

Also shee confesseth and saith, That shee was not throwne or cast vpon the Henne-russe, and Hay-mow, in the Barne, but that shee went vp vpon the Mow her selfe by the wall side.

Being further demanded whether shee euer was at the Church, shee saith, shee was not, but promised her after to goe to the Church, and that very willingly.

*Signum, ✠ Grace Sowerbuts.*

*William Leigh.*

*Edward Chisnal.*

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The

*The Examination of IENNET BIERLEY, ELLEN BIERLEY, and IANE SOWTHWORTH, of Salmesburie, in the Countie of Lancaster, Taken vpon Wednesday the nineteenth of August 1612. Annoq, Reg. Regis, IACOBI Anglia, Francia, & Hibernia, Fidei Defensoris, &c. decimo & Scotie, xlii.*

Before

WILLIAM LEIGH, and EDWARD CHISNAL, Esquires; two of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace in the same Countie: At the Assizes and generall Gaole deliuerie, holden at Lancaster.

By

Direction of Sir EDWARD BROMLEY Knight, one of his Maiesties Iustices of Assize at Lancaster.

**I**Ennet Bierley being demanded what shee knoweth, or hath heard, how *Grace Sowerbuts* was brought to *Christopher Southworth*, Priest; shee answereth, that shee was brought to *M. Singletons* house by her owne Mother, where the said Priest was, and that shee further heard her said Mother say, after her Daughter had been in her fit, that shee should be brought vnto her Master, meaning the said Priest.

And shee further saith, that shee thinketh it was by and through the Counsell of the said *M. Thompson*, alias *Southworth*, Priest, That *Grace Sowerbuts* her Grandchild accused her of Witchcraft, and of such practises as shee is accused of: And thinketh further, the cause why the said *Thompson*, alias *Southworth* Priest, should practise with the Wench to doe it was, for that shee went to the Church.

*Iane*

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

*Iane Southworth* saith shee saw Master *Thompson*, alias *Southworth*, the Priest, a month or sixe weekes before she was committed to the Gaole; and had conference with him in a place called *Barne-hey-lane*, where and when shee challenged him for slandering her to bee a Witch: wherunto he answered, that what he had heard thereof, he heard from her mother and her Aunt: yet she, this Examinee, thinketh in her heart it was by his procurement, and is moued so to thinke, for that shee would not be dissuaded from the Church.

*Ellen Bierley* saith, Shee saw Master *Thompson*, alias *Southworth*, sixe or eight weeks before she was committed, and thinketh the said Priest was the practiser with *Grace Sowerbutts*, to accuse her of Witchcraft, and knoweth no cause why he should so doe, but because she goeth to the Church.

*Signum, ✠ Iennet Bierley.*

*Signum, £ Iane Southworth.*

*Signum, Φ Ellen Bierley.*

*William Leigh.*

*Edward Chisnall.*

### *The Arraignement and Triall*

These Examinations being taken, they were brought into the Court, and there openly in the presence of this great Audience published, and declared to the Iurie of Life and Death; and thereupon the Gentlemen of their Iury required to consider of them. For although they stood upon their Triall, for matter of Fact of Witchcraft, Murther, and much more of the like nature: yet in respect all their Accusations did appeare to bee practise: they were now to consider of them, and to acquit them. Thus were these poore Innocent creatures, by the great care and paines of this honorable Iudge, delivered from the danger of this conspiracie; this bloudie practise of the Priest laid open: of whose fact I may lawfully say; *Etiam si ego tacuero clamabunt lapides.*

These are but ordinary with Priests and Iesuites: no respect of Blood, kindred, or friendship, can moue them to forbear their Conspiracies; for when he had laboured treacherously to seduce and conuert them, and yet could doe no good; then deuised he this meanes.

*God of his great mercie deliuer vs all from them and their damnable conspiracies: and when any of his Maiesties subiects, so free and innocent as these, shall come in question grant them as honorable a Triall, as Reuerend and worthy a Iudge to sit in Iudgement upon them; and in the end as speedie a deliuerance. And for that which I haue heard of them; seene with my eyes, and taken paines to Reade of them: My humble prayer shall be to God Almighty. Vt Conuertantur ne percant. Aut confundantur ne noceant.*

To conclude, because the discourse of these three women of Salmesbury hath beene long and troublesome

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

some to you ; it is heere placed amongst the Witches,  
by special order and commandement, to set forth to the  
World the practise and conspiracie of this bloody But-  
cher. And because I haue presented to your view a Ka-  
lender in the Frontispice of this Booke, of twen-  
tie notorious Witches: I shall shew you their  
deliuerance in order, as they came to  
their Arraignement and Triall e-  
uery day, and as the Gentle-  
men of euery Iury for life  
and death stood  
charged with  
them.

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N<sub>3</sub>

THE

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# THE ARRAIGNMENT and Triall of ANNE REDFERNE,

Daughter of ANNE WHITTLE, alias CHATTOX,  
of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, for  
Witchcraft; vpon Wednesday the nineteenth of August,  
at the Assises and Generall Gaole-delinerie, holden at  
Lancaster,

Before

Sir EDVARD BROMLEY Knight, one of his Ma-  
iesties Iustices of Assise at Lancaster.

*Anne Redferne.*

**S**Vch is the horror of Murther, and the cry-  
ing sinne of Bloud, that it will neuer bee  
satisfied but with Bloud. So fell it out  
with this miserable creature, *Anne Red-  
ferne*, the daughter of *Anne Whittle*, alias  
*Chattox*: who, as shee was her Mother, and brought her  
into the World, so was she the meanes to bring her into  
this danger, and in the end to her Execution, for much  
Bloud spilt, and many other mischiefes done.

For vpon Tuesday night (although you heare little  
of her at the Arraignement and Triall of old *Chattox*,  
her Mother) yet was shee arraigned for the murther of

*Robert*

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

*Robert Nutter*, and others : and by the fauour and mercifull consideration of the Iurie, the Euidence being not very pregnant against *her*, she was acquitted, and found Not guiltie.

Such was her condition and course of life, as had she liued, she would haue beene very dangerous: for in making pictures of Clay, she was more cunning then any: But the innocent bloud yet vn-satisfied, and crying out vnto GOD for satisfaction and reuenge; the crie of his people (to deliuer them from the danger of such horrible and bloudie executioners, and from her wicked and damnable practises) hath now againe brought her to a second Triall, where you shall heare what wee haue vpon Record against her.

This *Anne Redferne*, prisoner in the Castle at Lancaster, being brought to the Barre, before the great Seat of Iustice, was there, according to the former order and course, indicted and arraigned, for that she feloniously had practised, exercised, and vsed her deuillish and wicked Arts, called *Witchcrafts, Inchauntements, Charms, and Sorceries*, in and vpon one *Christopher Nutter*, and him the said *Christopher Nutter*, by force of the same Witchcrafts, feloniously did kill and murther, *Contra formam Statuti &c. Et Contra Pacem &c.*

Vpon her Arraignement to this Indictment, she pleaded *Not-Guiltie*; and for the triall of her life put her selfe vpon GOD and the Countrey.

So as now the Gentlemen of the Iurie of Life and Death stand charged with her as with others.

*The Euidence against Anne Redferne, Prisoner at the Barre.*

*The*

*The Examination of ELIZABETH*

*SOTHERNES, alias OLD DEMBDIKE, taken at the Fence, in the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, the second day of Aprill, Anno Reg. Regis IACOBI, Angliæ, &c. decimo, & Scotiæ xlv.*

Against

*ANNE REDFERNE (the daughter of ANNE WHITTLE, alias CHATTOX) Prisoner at the Barre:*

Before

*ROGER NOVVEL of Reade, Esquire, one of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace within the said Countie.*

**T**HIS Examinee saith, That about halfe a yeare before *Robert Nutter* died, as this Examinee thinketh, this Examinee went to the house of *Thomas Redferne*, which was about Midsummer, as shee this Examinee now remembreth it: and there, within three yards of the East end of the said house, shee saw the said *Anne Whittle* and *Anne Redferne*, wife of the said *Thomas Redferne*, and daughter of the said *Anne Whittle*, the one on the one side of a Ditch, and the other on the other side, and two pictures of Clay or Marle lying by them, and the third picture the said *Anne Whittle* was making. And the said *Anne Redferne*, her said daughter, wrought her Clay or Marle to make the third picture withall. And this Examinee passing by them, a Spirit, called *Tibbe*, in the shape of a blacke Cat, appeared vnto her this Examinee. and said, Turne backe againe, and doe as they doe. To whom this Examinee said, What are they doing?

*of Witches at Lancaſter.*

ing? Whereunto the ſaid Spirit ſaid, They are making three pictures: whereupon ſhee asked, whoſe pictures they were? whereunto the ſaid Spirit ſaid, They are the pictures of *Chriſtopher Nutter*, *Robert Nutter*, and *Mary*, wife of the ſaid *Robert Nutter*. But this Examinee denying to goe backe to helpe them to make the pictures aforeſaid, the ſaid Spirit ſeeming to be angrie therefore, ſhot or pulſhed this Examinee into the Ditch, and ſo ſhedde the milke which this Examinee had in a Kanne, or Kitt: and ſo thereupon the Spirit at that time vaniſhed out of this Examinees ſight. But preſently after that, the ſaid Spirit appeared vnto this Examinee again in the ſhape of a Hare, and ſo went with her about a quarter of a myle, but ſaid nothing vnto her this Examinee, nor ſhee to it.

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*The Examination of* MARGARET  
CROOKE

Againſt

*the ſaid ANNE REDFERNE: Taken the day and  
yeare aforeſaid,*

Before

*ROGER NOVVEL aforeſaid, Eſquire, one of his Ma-  
ieſties Juſtices of the Peace in the Countie of Lancaſter.*

**T**His Examinee, ſworne & examined vpon her oath,  
ſayth, That about eighteene or nineteene yeares a-  
goe, this Examinees brother, called *Robert Nutter*, about  
Whitſontide the ſame yeare, meeting with the ſaid *Anne*  
*Redferne*, vpon ſome ſpeeches betweene them they fell

O

out,

*The Arraignement and Triall*

out, as this Examinats said brother told this Examinat : and within some weeke, or fort-night, then next after, this Examinats said brother fell sicke, and so languished vntill about Candlemas then next after, and then died. In which time of his sicknesse, he did a hundred times at the least say, That the said *Anne Redferne* and her associates had bewitched him to death. And this Examine further saith, That this Examinates Father, called *Christopher Nutter*, about Maudlint de next after following fell sicke, and so languished, vntill Michaelmas then next after, and then died: during which time of his sicknesse, hee did sundry times say, That hee was bewitched; but named no bodie that should doe the same.

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*The Examination of IOHN NUT-  
TER, of Higham Booth, in the Forrest of Pendle, in the  
Countie of Lancaster, yeoman,*

Against

*the said ANNE REDFERNE: Taken the day and yeare  
aforesaid,*

Before

*ROGER NOVVEL Esquire, one of his Maiesties Iustices  
of Peace in the Countie of Lancaster.*

**T**His Examine, sworne & examined vpon his oath, sayth, That in or about Christmas, some eightene or nineteene yeares agoe, this Examinat comming from Burnley with *Christopher Nutter* and *Robert Nutter*, this Examinates Father and Brother, this Examine heard  
his

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

his said Brother then say vnto his said Father these words, or to this effect. *Father, I am sure I am bewitched by the Chattox, Anne Chattox, and Anne Redferne her daughter, I pray you cause them to bee layed in Lancaster Castle:* Whereunto this Examinate Father answered, Thou art a foolish Ladde, it is not so, it is thy miscarriage. Then this Examinate Brother weeping, said; nay, I am sure that I am bewitched by them, and if euer I come againe (for hee was readie to goe to Sir Richard Shuttlesworths, then his Master) I will procure them to bee laid where they shall be glad to bite Lice in two with their teeth.

Hercupon *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, her Mother, was brought forth to bee examined, who confessed the making of the pictures of Clay, and in the end cried out very heartily to God to forgiue her sinnes, and vpon her knees intreated for this *Redferne*, her daughter.

Here was likewise many witnesses examined vpon oth *Vina voce*, who charged her with many strange practises, and declared the death of the parties, all in such sort, and about the time in the Examinations formerly mentioned.

All men that knew her affirmed, shee was more dangerous then her Mother, for shee made all or most of the Pictures of Clay, that were made or found at any time.

Wherefore I leaue her to make good vse of the little time she hath to repent in: but no meanes could moue her to repentance, for  
as shee liued, so shee  
dyed.

**The Examination of IAMES DEVICE,**  
*taken the day and yeare afore-said.*

Before

ROGER NOWEL, and NICHOLAS BANNE-  
STER, Esquires : two of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace  
within the said Countie of Lancaster. viz,

*Anne Redferne  
the Witch.*

**T**He said Examinee vpon his oath saith, That about  
two yeares agoe, hee this Examinee saw three Pi-  
ctures of Clay, of halfe a yard long, at the end of Red-  
fernes house, which Redferne had one of the Pictures in  
his hand, Marie his Daughter had another in her hand,  
and the said Redfernes wife, now prisoner at Lancaster,  
had an other Picture in her hand, which Picture she the  
said Redfernes wife, was then crumbling, but whose Pi-  
ctures they were, this Examinee cannot tell. And at  
his returning back againe, some ten Roods off them  
there appeared vnto him this Examinee a  
thing like a Hare, which spit fire  
at him this Exami-  
nate.

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*The*

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## THE ARRAIGNMENT

*and Triall of ALICE NUTTER,*

*of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, for  
Witch-craft; vpon Wednes day the nineteenth of August,  
at the Assizes and generall Gaole deliuerie, holden at Lan-  
caster.*

Before

*Sir EDWARD BROMLEY Knight, one of his  
Maiesities Iustices of Assize, at Lancaster.*

*Alice Nutter.*

**T**He two degrees of persons which chiefly  
practise Witch-craft, are such, as are in  
great miserie and pouertie, for such the  
Deuil allures to follow him, by promising  
great riches, and worldly commoditie;  
Others, though rich, yet burne in a desperate desire of  
Reuenge; Hee allures them by promises, to get their  
turne satisfied to their hearts contentment, as in the  
whole proceedings against old *Chattox*: the examina-  
tions of old *Dembdike*; and her children, there was  
not one of them, but haue declared the like, when the  
Deuill first assaulted them.

### *The Arraignement and Triall*

But to attempt this woman in that sort, the Diuel had small meanes: For it is certaine she was a rich woman; had a great estate, and children of good hope: in the common opinion of the world, of good temper, free from enuy or malice; yet whether by the meanes of the rest of the Witches, or some vnfortunate occasion, shee was drawne to fall to this wicked course of life, I know not: but hither shee is now come to receiue her Triall, both for Murder, and many other vilde and damnable practises.

Great was the care and paines of his Lordship, to make triall of the Innocencie of this woman, as shall appeare vnto you vpon the Examination of *Jennet Dewce*, in open Court, at the time of her Arraignement and Triall; by an extraordinary meanes of Triall, to marke her out from the rest.

It is very certaine she was of the Grand-counsell at Malking-Tower vpon Good-Friday, and was there present, which was a very great argument to condemne her.

This *Alice Nutter*, Prisoner in the Castle at Lancaster: Being brought to the Barre before the Great Seat of Iustice; was there according to the former order and course Indicted and Arraigned, for that she feloniously had practised, exercised, and vsed her diuellish and wicked Arts, called *Witchcrafts*, *Tuchaments*, *Charmes* and *Sorceries*, in and vpon *Henry Mitton*: and him the said *Henry Mitton*, by force of the same *Witchcrafts*, feloniously did kill and murther. *Contra formam Statuti, &c. Et Contra Pacem, &c.*

Vpon her Arraignement, to this Indictment shee pleaded not guiltie; and for the triall of her life, put her

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

her selfe vpon God and the Countrey.

So as now the Gentlemen of the Iury of life and death stand charged with her, as with others.

*The Euidence against Alice Nutter Prisoner at the Barre.*

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## *The Examination of* JAMES DEVICE

*sonne of ELIZABETH DEVICE: Taken the seuen and twentieth day of Aprill: Anno Reg. Regis IACOBI Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Fidei Defensor. &c. Decimo & Scotiæ, xlvj.*

Before

ROGER NOVVEL and NICHOLAS BANE-  
STER, two of his Miesties Iustices of Peace in the Coun-  
tie of Lancaster. Against Alice Nutter.

THE said Examine saith vpon his oath, That hee heard his Grand-mother say, about a yeare ago, that his mother, called *Elizabeth Device*, and his Grand-mother, and the wife of *Richard Nutter*, of the Rough-Lee aforesaid, had killed one *Henry Mitton*, of the Rough-Lee aforesaid, by Witchcraft. The reason wherefore he was so killed, was for that this Examinats said Grand-mother had asked the said *Mitton* a penny: and hee denying her thereof; thereupon shee procured his death as aforesaid.

*Alice Nutter  
the Prisoner.*

*The*

*The Arraignement and Triall*

*The Examination of ELIZABETH  
DEVICE, mother of the said JAMES DEVICE.*

Against

*ALICE NUTTER, wife of RICHARD NUT-  
TER, Prisoner at the Barre, upon her Arraignement and  
Triall.*

Before

*ROGER NOVVEL and NICHOLAS BANE-  
TER, Esquires, the day and yeare aforesaid.*

**T**HIS Examine vpon her oath confesseth, and saith,  
That she, with the wife of *Richard Nutter*, called *A-  
lice Nutter*, Prisoner at the Barre, and this Examines  
said mother, *Elizabeth Sotherne*, alias *Old Demdike*; ioy-  
ned altogether, and bewitched the said *Henry Mitton* to  
death.

This Examine further saith, That vpon Good-fri-  
day last, there dined at this examinats house two women  
of Burneley Parish, whose names the said *Richard Nut-  
ters* wife, *Alice Nutter*, now Prisoner at the Barre, doth  
know.

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*The*

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*of Witches at Lancaster.*

*The Examination of IAMES DE-  
VICE aforesaid,*

Against

*The said ALICE NUTTER, the day and yeare a-  
foresaid.*

**T**He said Examine vpon his oath saith, That vpon Good-Friday about twelue of the clocke in the day time, there dined in this Examinats said mothers house, a number of persons, whereof three were men, with this Examine, and the rest women: and that they mette there for these three causes following, as this Examinats said mother told this Examine.

The first was for the naming of the Spirit, which *Alizon Deuice*, now Prisoner at Lancaster, had, but did not name him, because she was not there.

The second cause was, for the deliuerie of his said Grand-mother; this Examinates said sister, *Alizon*; the said *Anne Chutox*, and her daughter *Redferne*; killing the Gaoler at Lancaster, and before the next Assizes to blow vp the Castle there; to the end that the foresaid Prisoners might by that meanes make an escape, and get away: all which this Examine then heard them confesse of.

And he also saith, The names of such Witches as were on Good-Friday at this Examinats said Grand mothers house, and now this Examinates owne mothers, for so many of them as he doth know, were amongst others, *Alice Nutter*, mother of *Myles Nutter*, now Prisoner at the Barre. And this Examine further saith, That all the said Witches went out of the said house in their

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*The Arraignement and Triall*

owne shapes and likenesses; and they all, by that time they were forth of the doores, were gotten on horse-backe, like vnto Foales, some of one colour, and some of another; and *Prestons* wife was the last: and when shee got on horse-back, they all presently vanished out of this Examinate's sight: and before their said parting away, they all appointed to meete at the said *Prestons* wives house that day twelue month, at which time the said *Prestons* wife promised to make them a great feast: and if they had occasion to meete in the meane time, then should warning be giuen to meet vpo *Romleys* Moore.

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*The Examination and Euidence of*

*JENNET DEVICE, daughter of ELIZABETH DEVICE.*

Against

*ALICE NUTTER, Prisoner at the Barre.*

**T**He said Examinee saith, That on Good-Friday last, there was about 20. persons, whereof only two were men (to this Examinate's remembrance) at her said Grand-mothers house at Malking-Tower, about twelue of the clock; all which persons, this Examinat's said mother tould her, were Witches. And she further saith, she knoweth the names of six of them, *viz.* the wife of *Hugh Hargreines* vnder Pendle, *Christopher Horngate* of Pendle, Vncle to this Examinat and *Elizabeth* his wife; and *Dick Myles* wife of the Rough-Lee, *Christopher Iacks* of Thorniholme, and his wife; and the names of the residue, she this Examinee doth not know.

After

**A**fter these Examinations were openly read, his Lordship being very suspitious of the accusation of this yong wench *Iennet Deuice*, commanded one to take her away into the vpper Hall, intending in the meane time to make Triall of her Euidence, and the Accusation especially against this woman, who is charged to haue beene at Malking-Tower, at this great meeting. Master *Conel* was commanded to set all his Prisoners by themselves, and betwixt euery Witch another Prisoner, and some other strange women amongst them, so as no man could iudge the one from the other: and these being set in order before the Court from the prisoners, then was the Wench *Iennet Deuice* commaunded to be brought into the Court: and being set before my Lord, he tooke great paines to examine her of euery particular Point, What women were at Malking-Tower vpon Good-Friday? How she knew them? What were the names of any of them? And how she knew them to be such as she named?

In the end being examined by my Lord, Whether she knew them that were there by their faces, if she saw them? she told my Lord she should: whereupon in the presence of this great Audience, in open Court, she went and tooke *Alice Nutter*, this prisoner, by the hand, and accused her to be one: and told her in what place shee sat at the Feast at Malking-Tower, at the great assembly of the Witches, and who sat next her: what conference they had, and all the rest of their proceedings at large, without any manner of contrarietic.

Being demaunded further by his Lordship, Whether she knew *Iohan a Style*? she alledged, she knew no such womā to be there, neither did she euer heare her name.

*The Arraignement and Trial.*

This could be no forged or false Accufation, but the very Act of G o d to difcouer her.

Thus was no meanes left to doe her all indifferent fauour, but it was vfed to faue her life; and to this fhee could giue no anfwere.

But nothing would ferue: for old *Dembdike*, old *Chattox*, and others, had charged her with innocent bloud, which cries out for Reuenge, and will be fatisfied. And therefore Almighty G o d, in his Iuftice, hath cut her off.

And here I leaue her, vntill fhee come to her Execution, where you fhall heare fhee died very impenitent; infomuch as her owne children were neuer able to moue her to confefle any particular offence, or declare any thing, euen in *Articulo Mortis*: which was a very fearefull thing to all that were prefent, who knew fhee was guiltie.

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THE

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# THE ARRAIGNMENT

## and Triall of KATHERINE HEVVIT,

Wife of IOHN HEVVIT, alias MOULD-HEELS,  
of Coulne, in the Countie of Lancaster Clothier, for  
Witchcraft; upon Wednesday the nineteenth of August,  
at the Assises and Generall Gaole-deliverie, holden at  
Lancaster,

Before

Sir EDWARD BROMLEY Knight, one of his Ma-  
iesties Iustices of Assise at Lancaster.

*Katherine Hewit.*



Ho but Witches can be proofes, and so  
witnesses of the doings of Witches? since  
all their Meetings, Conspiracies, Practises,  
and Murthers, are the workes of Darke-  
nesse: But to discover this wicked *Furie*,  
God hath not onely raised meanes beyond expecta-  
tion, by the voluntarie Confession and Accusation  
of all that are gone before, to accuse this Witch (be-  
ing Witches, and thereby witnesses of her doings)  
but after they were committed, by meanes of a Child,  
to discover her to be one, and a Principall in that wic-  
ked assembly at Malking-Tower, to devise such a dam-  
nable course for the deliverance of their friends at

*The Arraignement and Trial*

Lancaster, as to kill the Gaoler, and blow vp the Castle, wherein the Deuill did but labour to assemble them together, and so being knowne to send them all one way : And herein I shall commend vnto your good consideration the wonderfull meanes to condemne these parties, that liued in the world, free from suspicion of any such offences, as are proued against them : And thereby the more dangerous, that in the successe wee may lawfully say, the very Finger of God did point the out. And she that neuer saw them, but in that meeting, did accuse them, and by their faces discover them.

This *Katherine Hewyt*, Prisoner in the Castle at Lancaster, being brought to the Barre before the great Seate of Iustice, was there according to the former order and course Indicted and Arraigned, for that she feloniously had practized, exercised, and vsed her Deuillish and wicked Arts, called *Witch-crafts*, *Inchantments*, *Charmes*, and *Sorceries*, in, and vpon *Anne Foulds*; and the same *Anne Foulds*, by force of the same witch-craft, feloniously did kill and murder. *Contra formam Statuti, &c. Et contra Pacem dicti Domini Regis, &c.*

Vpon her Arraignement to this Indictment, shee pleaded not guiltie; And for the triall of her life put her selfe vpon God and her Countrie.

So as now the Gentlemen of the Iurie of life and death, stand charged with her as with others.

*The Euidence against Katherine Hewyt,  
Prisoner at the Barre.*

*The*

***The Examination of IAMES DEVICE,***

*Sonne of ELIZABETH DEVICE, taken the seven and twentieth day of Aprill, Anno Reg. Regis IACOBI, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, decimo, & Scotiæ quadragesimo quarto.*

Before

ROGER NOWEL, and NICHOLAS BANNESTER, *Esquires; two of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace, in the Countie of Lancaster.*

Against

KATHERINE HEWYT, *alias MOULD-HEELS of Colne.* VIZ.

**T**HIS Examine saith, that vpon Good-Friday last, about twelue of the Clock in the day time, there dined at this Examines Mothers house a number of persons: And hee also saith, that they were Witches; and that the names of the said Witches, that were there, for so many of them as he did know, were amongst others *Katherine Hewyt, wife of Iohn Hewyt, alias Mould-heeles, of Colne, in the Countie of Lancaster Clothier; And that the said Witch, called Katherine Hewyt, alias Mould-heeles, and one Alice Gray, did confesse amongst the said Witches at their meeting at Malkin-Tower aforesaid, that they had killed Foulds wifes child, called Anne Foulds, of Colne: And also said, that they had then in hanck a child of Michael Hartleys of Colne.*

And this Examine further saith, that all the said Witches went out of the said house in their own shapes and likenesses, and by that time they were gotten forth

of

*The Arraignement and Triall*

of the doores, they were gotten on Horse-back like vnto foales, some of one colour, some of another, and the said *Prestons* wife was the last: And when shee got on Horse-back, they all presently vanished out of this Examines sight. And before their said parting away they all appointed to meete at the said *Prestons* wifes house that day twelue Moneths: at which time the said *Prestons* wife promised to make them a great feast, and if they had occasion to meete in the meane time, then should warning be giuen that they all should meet vpon Romlesmoore.

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*The Examination and Euidence of*

ELIZABETH DEVICE, *Mother of the said IAMES*  
DEVICE,

Against

KATHERINE HEWYT, *alias MOULD-HEELS,*  
*Prisoner at the Barre vpon her Arraignement and Triall,*  
*taken the day and yeare aforesaid. viz.*

THIS Examine vpon her oath confesseth, that vpon Good-Friday last there dyed at this Examines house, which she hath said are Witches, and verily thinketh to bee Witches, such as the said *Iames Device* hath formerly spoken of; amongst which was *Katherine Hewyt*, *alias Mould-heeles*, now Prisoner at the Barre: and shee also saith, that at their meeting on Good-Friday at *Malkin-Tower* aforesaid, the said *Katherine Hewyt*, *alias Mould-heeles*, and *Ance Gray*, did confesse, they had killed

led a child of *Foulds* of Colne, called *Anne Foulds*, and had gotten hold of an other.

And shee further saith, the said *Katherine Hewyt* with all the rest, there gaue her consent with the said *Prestons* wife for the murder of Master *Lister*.

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*The Examination and Euidence of*  
IENNET DEVICE,

Against

KATHERINE HEWYT, *alias* MOULD-HEELES,  
*Prisoner at the Barre*.

THE said Examinee saith, That vpon Good-Friday last, there was about twentie persons, where of two were men to this Examinatees remembrance, at her said Grand-mothers house, called *Malkin-Tower* aforesaid, about twelue of the clock: All which persons this Examinatees said mother told her were Witches, and that shee knoweth the names of sixe of the said Witches.

Then was the said *Iennet Deuice* commanded by his Lordship, to finde and point out the said *Katherine Hewyt*, *alias* *Mould-heeles*, amongst all the rest of the said Women, whereupon shee went and tooke the said *Katherine Hewyt* by the hand: Accused her to bee one, and told her in what place shee sate at the feast at *Malkin-Tower*, at the great Assembly of the Witches, and who sate next her; what conference they had, and all the rest of their proceedings at large, without any manner of contrarietic: Being demanded further by his Lordship,

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ship,

### *The Arraignement and Triall*

ship, whether *Ioane a Downe* were at that Feast, and meeting, or no? shee alleaged shee knew no such woman to be there, neither did shee euer heare her name.

If this were not an Honorable meanes to trie the accusation against them, let all the World vpon due examination giue iudgement of it. And here I leaue her the last of this companie, to the Verdict of the Gentlemen of the Iurie of life and death, as hereafter shall appeare.

Heere the Iurie of Life and Death, having spent the most part of the day, in due consideration of their offences; Returned into the Court to deliuer vp their Verdict against them, as followeth.

### *The Verdict of Life and Death.*

**W**Ho vpon their Oathes found *Jennet Bierley, Ellen Bierley, and Iane Southworth*, not guiltie of the offence of Witch-craft, conteyned in the Indictment against them.

*Anne Redferne*, guiltie of the fellonie & murder, conteyned in the Indictment against her.

*Alice Nutter*, guiltie of the fellonie and murder conteyned in the Indictment against her.

And

*Katherine Hewyt*, guiltie of the fellonie & murder conteyned in the Indictment against her.

Where-

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

Whereupon Master *Couell* was commanded by the Court to take away the Prisoners Conuicted, and to bring forth *Iohn Bulcocke*, *Iane Bulcocke* his mother, and *Alizon Deuice*, Prisoners in the Castle at Lancaster, to receiue their Trialls.

Who were brought to their Arraignement and Triall as hereafter followeth.

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# THE ARRAIGNMENT

*and Triall of IOHN BVLCOCK  
and IANE BVLCOCK his mother, wife of C  
STOPHER BVLCOCK, of the Mosse-end, in the Countie  
of Lancaster, for Witch-craft: vpon Wednesday in the  
after-noon, the nineteenth of August, 1612. At the As-  
sises and generall Gaole deliuey, holden at Lancaster.*

Before

*Sir EDWARD BROMLEY, Knight, one of his Ma-  
iesties Iustices of Assises at Lancaster.*

*John Bulcock,*  
and

*Jane Bulcock his mother.*



**I**F there were nothing to charge these Pri-  
soners withall, whom now you may be-  
hold vpon their Arraignement and Tri-  
all but their poasting in haste to the great  
Assembly at Malking-Tower, there to  
aduise and consult amongst the Witches, what were to  
bee done to set at liberty the Witches in the Castle at  
Lancaster: Ioyne with *Jennet Preston* for the murder of  
*Master Lister*; and such like wicked & diuellish practises :  
It

It were sufficient to accuse them for Witches, & to bring their liues to a lawfull Triall. But amongst all the Witches in this company, there is not a more fearefull and diuellish Act committed, and voluntarily confessed by any of them, comparable to this, vnder the degree of Murder: which impudently now (at the Barre hauing formerly confessed;) they forswear, swearing they were neuer at the great assembly at Malking Tower; although the very Witches that were present in that action with them, iustifie, maintaine, and sweare the same to be true against them: Crying out in very violent & outrageous manner, euen to the gallowes, where they died impenitent for any thing we know, because they died silent in the particulars. These of all others were the most desperate wretches (void of all feare or grace) in all this Packe; Their offences not much inferiour to Murther: for which you shall heare what matter of Record wee haue against them; and whether they be worthie to continue, we leaue it to the good consideration of the Iury.

The said *John Bulcock*, and *Jane Bulcock* his mother, Prisoners in the Castle at Lancaster, being brought to the Barre before the great Seat of Iustice: were there according to the former order and course Indicted and Arraigned, for that they feloniously had practised, exercised and vsed their diuellish & wicked Arts, called *Witchcrafts*, *Inchantments*, *Charmes* and *Sorceries*, in and vpon the body of *Jennet Deane*: so as the body of the said *Jennet Deane*, by force of the said Witchcrafts, wasted and consumed; and after she, the said *Jennet*, became madde. *Contra formam Statuti, &c. Et Contra Pacem, &c.*

Vpon their Arraignment, to this Indictment they pleaded not guiltie; and for the triall of their liues put them-

*The Arraignement and Triall*

themselues vpon God and their Countrey.

So as now the Gentlemen of the Iurie of Life and Death stand charged with them as with others.

*The Euidence against Iohn Bulcock, and Iane Bulcock his mother, Prisoners at the Barre.*

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*The Examination of IAMES DEVICE*  
*taken the seuen and twentieth day of Aprill aforesaid.*

Before

ROGER NOVVEL and NICHOLAS BANE-  
STER, Esquires, two of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace in  
the Countie of Lancaster.

Against

IOHN BVLCOCK and IANE BVLCOCK his mo-  
ther.

THIS Examinee saith, That vpon Good-Friday, a-  
bout twelue of the clocke in the day time, there di-  
ned in this Examinates said Mothers house a number of  
persons, whereof three were men with this Examinee,  
and the rest women, and that they met there for these  
three causes following, as this Examinates said mother  
told this Examinee. The first was, for the naming of  
the Spirit which *Allison Device*, now prisoner at Lanca-  
ster had, but did not name him, because shee was not  
there. The second cause was, for the deliuerie of his  
said Grand-mother; this Examinates said sister *Allison*;  
the said *Anne Chattox*, and her daughter *Redferne*, killing  
the

the Gaoler at Lancaster, and before the next Assises to blow vp the Castle there, to that end the aforesaid prisoners might by that meanes make an escape, and get away: All which this Examinee then heard them conferre of.

And he also sayth, That the names of such said Witches as were on Good-Friday at this Examinees said Grand-mothers house, and now this Examinees owne mothers, for so many of them as hee did know, were these, *viz. Jane Bulcock*, wife of *Christopher Bulcock*, of the Mosse end, and *John* her sonne amongst others, &c.

And this Examinee further saith, That all the said Witches went out of the said house in their own shapes and likenesses: and they all, by that they were forth of the dores, were gotten on horse-backe, like vnto Foales, some of one colour, and some of another, and *Prestons* wife was the last: and when shee got on horse-backe, they all presently vanished out of this Examinees sight.

And further he saith, That the said *John Bulcock* and *Jane* his said Mother, did confesse vpon Good-Friday last, at the said Malking-Tower, in the hearing of this Examinee, That they had bewitched, at the new-field Edge in Yorkeeshire, a woman called *Jennet*, wife of *John Deyne*, besides, her Reason; and the said Womans name so bewitched, he did not heare them speake of. And this Examinee further saith, That at the said Feast at Malking-Tower this Examinee heard them all giue their consents to put the said Master *Thomas Lister* of Westby to death. And after Master *Lister* should be made away by Witch-craft, then all the said Witches gaue their consents to ioyne all together, to hanck Master

*The Arraignement and Triall*

for Leonard Lister, when he should come to dwell at the Cow-gill, and so put him to death.

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*The Examination of ELIZABETH  
DEVIGE, Taken the day and yeare aforesaid,*

Before

ROGER NOVVEL and NICHOLAS BANE-  
STER, Esquires, two of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace in  
the Countie of Lancaster,

Against

JOHN BULCOCK, and IANE BULCOCK, his  
mother.

**T**HIS Examinee saith vpon her oath, That she doth  
verily thinke, that the said *Bulcockes* wife doth know  
of some Witches to bee about Padyham and Burn-  
ley.

And shee further saith, That at the said meeting at  
Malking-Tower, as aforesaid, *Katherine Hewit* and *Iohn  
Bulcock*, with all the rest then there, gaue their consents,  
with the said *Prestons* wife, for the killing of the said  
Master *Lister*.

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*The*

## *The Examination and Evidence of*

**JENNET DEVICE**

**Against**

**JOHN BULCOCKE and IANE his mother, prisoners  
at the Barre.**

**T**He said Examinee saith, That vpon Good-Friday last there was about twentie persons, whereof two were men, to this Examinatees remembrance, at her said Grand-mothers house, called Malking-Tower afore-said: all which persons, this Examinatees said mother told her were Witches, and that she knoweth the names of sixe of the said Witches.

Then was the said *Jennet Devise* commaunded by his Lordship to finde and point out the said *John Bulcock* and *Iane Bulcock* amongst all the rest: whereupon shee went and tooke *Iane Bulcock* by the hand, accused her to be one, and told her in what place shee sat at the Feast at Malking-Tower, at the great Assembly of the Witches; and who sat next her: and accused the said *John Bulcock* to turne the Spitt there; what conference they had, and all the rest of their proceedings at large, without any manner of contrarietie.

Shee further told his Lordship, there was a woman that came out of Craven to that Great Feast at Malking-Tower, but shee could not finde her out amongst all those women.

R

The

¶ The names of the Witches at the  
*Great Assembly and Feast at*  
Malking-Tower, viz. vpon Good-  
Friday last, 1612.

*Elizabeth Deuice.*

*Alice Nutter.*

*Katherine Hewit, alias*  
*Mould-beeles.*

*John Bulcock.*

*Jane Bulcock.*

*Alice Graie.*

*Fennet Hargraues.*

*Elizabeth Hargraues.*

*Christopher Homgate,*  
Sonne to old Dembdike.

*Christopher Hargraues.*  
*Grace*

of *Witches at Lancaster.*

*Grace Hay*, of Padiham.

*Anne Crunchshey*, of Marchden.

*Elizabeth Howgate.*

*Fennet Preston*, Executed at Yorke  
for the Murder of Master *Lister.*

With many more, which being bound ouer to ap-  
peare at the last Affizes, are since that time fled to saue  
themselues.

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R 2

The

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THE ARRAIGNMENT  
*and Trial* of ALIZON DEVICE,  
Daughter of ELIZABETH DEVICE, *within the For-*  
*rest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster aforesaid, for*  
*Witch-craft.*

*Alizon Devise.*

**B**Ehold, aboue all the rest, this lamentable spectacle of a poore distressed Pedler; how miserably hee was tormented, and what punishment hee endured for a small offence, by the wicked and damnable practise of this odious Witch, first instructed therein by old *Dembdike* her Grand-mother, of whose life and death with her good conditions, I haue written at large before in the beginning of this worke, out of her owne Examinations and other Records, now remayning with the Clarke of the Crowne at Lancaster: And by her Mother brought vp in this detestable course of life; wherein I pray you obserue but the manner and course of it in order, euen to the last period at her Execution, for this horrible fact, able to terrifie and astonish any man liuing.

This *Alizon Devise*, Prisoner in the Castle of Lancaster,

ster, being brought to the Barre before the great Seat of Iustice, was there according to the former order and course indicted and arraigned, for that shee feloniously had practised, exercised, and vsed her Deuillish and wicked Arts, called *Witch-crafts, Inchantments, Charmes, and Sorceries*, in, and vpon one *Iohn Law*, a Petti-chapman, and him had lamed, so that his bodie wasted and consumed, &c. *Contra formam Statuti, &c. Et contra pacem dicti Domini Regis, Coronam & Dignitatem, &c.*

Vpon the Arraignment, The poore Pedler, by name *Iohn Law*, being in the Castle about the Moot-hall, attending to be called, not well able to goe or stand, being led thether by his poore sonne *Abraham Law*: My Lord *Gerard* moued the Court to call the poore Pedler, who was there readie, and had attended all the Assizes, to giue euidence for the Kings Majestie, against the said *Alizon Denice*, Prisoner at the Barre, euen now vpon her Triall. The Prisoner being at the Barre, & now beholding the Pedler, deformed by her Witch-craft, and transformed beyond the course of Nature, appeared to giue euidence against her; hauing not yet pleaded to her Indictment, saw it was in vaine to denieit, or stand vpon her justification: Shee humbly vpon her knees at the Barre with weeping teares, prayed the Court to heare her.

Whereupon my Lord *Bromley* commanded shee should bee brought out from the Prisoners neare vnto the Court, and there on her knees, shee humbly asked forgiuenesse for her offence: And being required to make an open declaration or confession of her offence: Shee confessed as followeth. *viz.*

*The Confession of ALIZON DE-*

*VICE, Prisoner at the Barre : published and declared  
at time of her Arraignement and Triall in open Court.*

**S**He saith, That about two yeares agoe, her Grand-mother, called *Elizabeth Sothernnes*, alias *Dembäike*, did (sundry times in going or walking together, as they went begging) perswade and aduise this Examinee to let a Diuell or a Familiar appeare to her, and that shee, this Examinee would let him suck at some part of her; and she might haue and doe what shee would. And so not long after these perswasions, this Examinee being walking towards the Rough-Lee, in a Close of one *Iohn Robinsons*, there appeared vnto her a thing like vnto a Blacke Dogge: speaking vnto her, this Examinee, and desiring her to giue him her Soule, and he would giue her power to doe any thing she would: whereupon this Examinee being therewithall inticed, and setting her downe; the said Blacke-Dogge did with his mouth (as this Examinee then thought) sucke at her breast, a little below her Paps, which place did remaine blew halfe a yeare next after: which said Blacke-Dogge did not appeare to this Examinee, vntill the eighteenth day of March last: at which time this Examinee met with a Pedler on the high-way, called Colne-field, neere vnto Colne: and this Examinee demanded of the said Pedler to buy some pinnes of him; but the said Pedler sturdily answered this Examinee that he would not loose his Packe; and so this Examinee parting with him: presently there appeared to this Examinee the Blacke-Dogge, which appeared vnto her as before: which Black  
Dogge

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

Dogge spake vnto this Examine in English, saying; What wouldst thou haue me to do vnto yonder man? to whom this Examine said, What canst thou do at him? and the Dogge answered againe, I can lame him: where-upon this Examine answered, and said to the said Black Dogge, Lame him: and before the Pedler was gone for-  
tic Roddes further, he fell downe Lame: and this Examine then went after the said Pedler; and in a house about the distance aforesaid, he was lying Lame: and so this Examine went begging in Trawden Forrest that day, and came home at night: and about fīue daies next after, the said Black Dogge did appeare to this Examine, as she was going a begging, in a Cloase neere the New-Church in Pendle, and spake againe to her, saying; Stay and speake with me; but this Examine would not: Sithence which time this Examine neuer saw him.

*Which agreeth verbatim with her owne Examination taken at Reade, in the Countie of Lancaster, the thirtieth day of March, before Master Nowel, when she was apprehended and taken.*

**M**Y Lord Bromley, and all the whole Court not a little wondering, as they had good cause, at this liberall and voluntarie confession of the Witch; which is not ordinary with people of their condition and qualitie: and beholding also the poore distressed Pedler, standing by, commanded him vpon his oath to declare the manner how, and in what sort he was handled; how he came to be lame, and so to be deformed; who deposed vpon his oath, as followeth.

*The*

*The Euidence of I O H N L A VV,*

*Pettie Chapman, vpon his oath:*

Against

*ALIZON DEVICE, Prisoner at the Barre.*

**H**E deposeth and saith, That about the eighteenth of March last past, hee being a Pedler, went with his Packe of wares at his backe thorow Colne-field : where vnluckily he met with *Alizon Device*, now Prisoner at the Barre, who was very earnest with him for pinnes, but he would giue her none : whereupon she seemed to be very angry ; and when hee was past her, hee fell downe lame in great extremitie ; and afterwards by meanes got into an Ale-house in Colne, neere vnto the place where hee was first bewitched : and as hee lay there in great paine, not able to stirre either hand or foote ; he saw a great Black-Dogge stand by him, with very fearefull fire eyes, great teeth, and a terrible countenance, looking him in the face ; whereat he was very sore afraid : and immediately after came in the said *Alizon Device*, who staid not long there, but looked on him, and went away.

After which time hee was tormented both day and night with the said *Alizon Device* ; and so continued lame, not able to trauell or take paines euer since that time : which with weeping teares in great passion turned to the Prisoner ; in the hearing of all the Court hee said to her, *This thou knowest to be too true* : and thereupon she humbly acknowledged the same, and cried out to God to forgiue her ; and vpon her knees with weeping teares, humbly prayed him to forgiue her that wicked offence ; which he very freely and voluntarily did.

Here

Hereupon Master *Novel* standing vp, humbly prayed the fauour of the Court, in respect this Fact of Witchcraft was more eminent and apparant then the rest, that for the better satisfaction of the Audience, the Examination of *Abraham Law* might be read in Court.

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## *The Examination of A B R A H A M*

*LAVV, of Hallifax, in the Countie of Yorke, Cloth-dier,  
taken vpon oath the thirtieth day of March, 1612.*

Before

ROGER NOVVEL, *Esquire, aforesaid.* 2113

**B**Eing sworne and examined, saith, That vpon Saturday last saue one, being the one and twenrieth day of this instant March, he, this Examinee was sent for, by a letter: that came from his father, that he should come to his father, *John Law*, who then lay in Colne speechlesse, and had the left-side lamed all saue his eye: and when this Examinee came to his father, his said father had something recouered his speech, and did complaine that hee was pricked with Kniues, Elsons and Sickles: and that the same hurt was done vnto him at Colne-field, presently after that *Alizon Deuice* had offered to buy some pinnes of him, and she had no money to pay for them withall; but as this Examinees father told this Examinee, he gaue her some pinnes. And this Examinee further saith; That he heard his said father say, that the hurt he had in his lameness was done vnto him by the said *Alizon Deuice*, by Witchcraft. And this

S

Exami-

*The Arraignement and Triall*

Examine further saith, that hee heard his said Father further say, that the said *Alizon Denice* did lie vpon him and trouble him. And this Examinee seeing his said Father so tormented with the said *Alizon* and with one other olde woman, whome this Examinees Father did not know as it seemed: This Examinee made search after the said *Alizon*, and hauing found her, brought her to his said Father yesterday being the nine & twentieth of this instant March: whose said Father in the hearing of this Examinee and diuers others did charge the said *Alizon* to haue bewitched him, which the said *Alizon* confessing did aske this Examinees said Father forgiveness vpon her knees for the same; whereupon this Examinees Father accordingly did forgiue her. Which Examination in open Court vpon his oath hee iustified to be true.

Whereupon it was there affirmed to the Court that this *John Law* the Pedler, before his vnfortunate meeting with this Witch, was a verie able sufficient stout man of Bodie, and a goodly man of Stature. But by this Devilish art of *Witch-craft* his head is drawne awrie, his Eyes and face deformed, His speech not well to bee vnderstood; his Thighes and Legges starcke lame: his Armes lame especially the left side, his handes lame and turned out of their course, his Bodie able to indure no trauell: and thus remaineth at this present time.

The Prisoner being examined by the Court whether shee could helpe the poore Pedler to his former strength and health, she answered she could not, and so did many of the rest of the Witches: But shee, with others, affirmed, That if old *Dembdske* had liued, shee could and would haue helped him out of that great miserie

serie, which so long he hath endured for so small an offence, as you haue heard.

These things being thus openly published against her, and she knowing her selfe to be guiltie of euery particular, humbly acknowledged the Indictment against her to be true, and that she was guiltie of the offence therein contained, and that she had iustly deserued death for that and many other such like: whereupon she was carried away, vntill she should come to the Barre to receiue her iudgement of death.

Oh, who was present at this lamentable spectacle, that was not moued with pitie to behold it!

Hereupon my Lord *Gerard*, Sir *Richard Houghton*, and others, who much pitied the poore Pedler, At the entreatie of my Lord *Bromley* the Iudge, promised some present course should be taken for his reliefe and maintenance; being now discharged and sent away.

But here I may not let her passe; for that I find some thing more vpon Record to charge her withall: for although she were but a young Witch, of a yeares standing, and thereunto induced by *Dembdike* her Grandmother, as you haue formerly heard, yet she was spotted with innocent blood among the rest: for in one part of the Examination of *James Deuice*, her brother, he deposeth as followeth, *viz.*

*The Examination of IAMES DE-  
VICE, brother to the said ALIZON LEVICE: Taken  
upon Oath*

Before

ROGER NOVVEL Esquire, *sore said, the thirtieth day  
of March, 1612.*

**I** *Ames Denice*, of the Forreſt of Pendle, in the Countie  
of Lancaſter, Labourer, ſworne and examined, ſayth,  
That about Saint *Peters* day laſt one *Henry Bulcock* came  
to the houſe of *Elizabeth Sothernes*, alias *Dembdike*,  
Grand-mother to this Examinee, and ſaid, That the  
ſaid *Alizon Denice* had bewitched a Child of his, and de-  
ſired her, that ſhee would goe with him to his houſe:  
which accordingly ſhee did: and thereupon ſhee the  
ſaid *Alizon* fell downe on her knees, and asked the ſaid  
*Bulcock* forgiueneſſe; and confeſſed to him, that ſhe had  
bewitched the ſaid Child, as this Examinee heard his  
ſaid ſiſter confeſſe vnto him this Examinee.

And although ſhee were neuer indicted for this of-  
fence, yet being matter vpon Record, I thought it con-  
uenient to joyne it vnto her former Fact.

**H**ere the Iurie of Life and Death hauing ſpent the  
moſt part of the day in due conſideration of their  
offences, returned into the Court to deliuer vp their  
Verdict againſt them, as followeth.

*The*

*The Verdict of Life  
and Death.*

**W**Ho vpon their Oathes found *Iohn Bulcock* and  
*Iane Bulcock* his mother, not guiltie of the Felo-  
nie by Witch-craft, contained in the Indictment a-  
gainst them.

*Alizon Denice* conuicted vpon her owne Con-  
fession.

Whereupon Master *Couel* was commaunded by the  
Court to take away the Prisoners conuicted, and to  
bring forth *Margaret Pearson*, and *Isabell Robey*, Pri-  
soners in the Castle at Lancaster, to receiue their  
Triall.

Who were brought to their Arraignement and Tri-  
alls, as hereafter followeth, *viz.*



# THE ARRAIGNMENT

*and Triall of MARGARET PEARSON of Paddiham, in the Countie of Lancaster, for Witchcraft; the nineteenth of August 1612. at the Assises and Generall Gaole-delinerie, holden at Lancaster,*

Before

*Sir EDWARD BROMLEY Knight, one of his Majesties Iustices of Assise at Lancaster.*

*Margaret Pearson.*



Hus farre haue I proceeded in hope your patience will endure the end of this discourse, which craues time, and were better not begunne at all, then not perfected.

This *Margaret Pearson* was the wife of *Edward Pearson* of Paddiham, in the Countie of Lancaster; little inferiour in her wicked and malicious course of life to any that hath gone before her: A very dangerous Witch of long continuance, generally suspected and feared in all parts of the Countrie, and of all good people neare her, and not without great cause: For whoeuer gaue her any iust occasion of offence, shee tormented

mented with great miserie, or cut off their children, goods, or friends.

This wicked and vngodly Witch reuenged her furie vpon goods, so that euery one neare her sustained great losse. I place her in the end of these notorious Witches, by reason her iudgement is of another Nature; according to her offence; yet had not the fauour and mercie of the Iurie beene more then her desert, you had found her next to old *Dembdike*; for this is the third time shee is come to receiue her Triall; one time for murder by Witch-craft; an other time for bewitching a Neighbour; now for goods.

How long shee hath beene a Witch, the Deuill and shee knowes best.

The Accusations, Depositions, and particular Examinations vpon Record against her are infinite, and were able to fill a large Volume; But since shee is now only to receiue her Triall for this last offence. I shall proccede against her in order, and set forth what matter we haue vpon Record, to charge her withall.

This *Margaret Pearson*, Prisoner in the Castle at Lancaster: Being brought to the Barre before the great Seat of Iustice; was there according to the course and order of the Law Indicted and Arraigned, for that shee had practised, exercised, and vsed her diuellish and wicked Arts, called *Witchcrafts*, *Incantments*, *Charmes* and *Sorceries*, and one Horse or Mare of the goods and Chattels of one *Dodgeson* of Padham, in the Countie of Lancaster, wickedly, maliciously, and voluntarily did kill. *Contra formam Statuti, &c. Et contra Pacem dicti Domini Regis. &c.*

Vpon

*The Arraignement and Triall*

Vpon her Arraignement to this Indictment, shee pleaded not guiltie; And for the triall of her life put her selfe vpon God and her Countrie.

So as now the Gentlemen of the Iurie of her offence and death, stand charged with her as with others.

*The Euidence against Margaret Pearson,  
Prisoner at the Barre.*

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*The Examination and Euidence of*  
ANNE WHITTLE, *alias* CHATTOX.

Against  
MARGARET PEARSON, *Prisoner at the Barre.*

THE said *Anne Chattox* being examined saith, That the wife of one *Pearson* of Paddiham, is a very euill Woman, and confessed to this Examinee, that shee is a Witch, and hath a Spirit which came to her the first time in likenesse of a Man, and clouen footed, and that shee the said *Pearsons* wife hath done very much harme to one *Dodgesons* goods, who came in at a loope-hole into the said *Dodgesons* Stable, and shee and her Spirit together did sit vpon his Horse or Mare, vntill the said Horse or Mare died. And likewise, that shee the said *Pearsons* wife did confesse vnto her this Examinee, that shee bewitched vnto death one *Childers* wife, and her Daughter, and that shee the said *Pearsons* wife is as ill as shee.

*The*

*The Examination of IENNET BOOTH,  
of Paddibam, in the Countie of Lancaster, the ninth day  
of August 1612.*

Before

NICHOLAS BANNERSTER, Esquire; one of his  
Majesties Iustices of Peacc in the Countie of Lancaster.

**I**Ennet, the wife of James Booth, of Paddiham, vpon her  
oath saith, That the Friday next after, the said *Pear-*  
*sons* wife, was committed to the Gaole at Lancaster,  
this Examine was carding in the said *Pearsons* house,  
hauing a little child with her, and willed the said *Marg-*  
*erie* to giue her a little Milke, to make her said child a  
little meat, who fetcht this Examine some, and put it  
in a pan; this examinat meaning to set it on the fire, found  
the said fire very ill, and taking vp a stick that lay by her,  
and brake it in three or foure peeces, and laid vpon the  
coales to kindle the same, then set the pan and milke on  
the fire: and when the milke was boild to this Exami-  
nates content, she rooke the pan wherein the milke was,  
off the said fire, and with all, vnder the bottome of the  
same, there came a Toade, or a thing very like a Toade,  
and to this Examinates thinking came out of the fire,  
together with the said Pan, and vnder the bottome of  
the same, and that the said *Margerie* did carrie the said  
Toade out of the said house in a paire of tongs; But  
what shee the said *Margerie* did therewith, this Exami-  
nate knoweth not.

After this were diuers witnesses examined against her  
in open Court, *vina voce*, to proue the death of the Mare,

T

and

*The Arraignement and Triall*

and diuers other vild and odious practises by her committed, who vpon their Examinations made it so apparant to the Iurie as there was no question; But because the fact is of no great importance, in respect her life is not in question by this Indictment, and the Depositions and examinations are many, I leaue to trouble you with any more of them, for being found guiltie of this offence, the penaltie of the Law is as much as her good

Neighbours doe require, which is to be deliuered from the companie of such a dangerous, wicked, and malicious Witch.

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*The*

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THE ARRAIGNMENT  
and Triall of ISABEL ROBEY

*in the Countie of Lancaster, for Witch-craft: upon Wednesday  
the nineteenth of August, 1612. At the Assizes and generall  
Gaole-delivery, holden at Lancaster.*

Before

Sir EDWARD BROMLEY, Knight, one of his Ma-  
iesties Iustices of Assizes at Lancaster.

*Isabel Robey.*



Thus at one time may you behold Wit-  
ches of all sorts from many places in this  
Countie of Lancaster which now may  
lawfully bee said to abound asmuch in  
Witches of diuers kindes as Seminaries,  
Iesuities, and Papists. Here then is the last that came to  
act her part in this lamentable and wofull Tragedie,  
wherein his Maiestie hath lost somany Subjects, Mo-  
thers their Children, Fathers their Friends, and Kinf-  
folkes the like whereof hath not beene set forth in any  
age. What hath the Kings Maiestie written and publi-  
shed in his *Damonologie*, by way of premonition and  
preuention, which hath not here by the first or last

### *The Arraignement and Triall*

beene executed, put in practise or discovered? What Witches haue euer vpon their Arraignement and Trial made such open liberall and voluntarie declarations of their liues, and such confessions of their offences: The manner of their attempts and their bloudie practises, their meetings, consultations and what not? Therefore I shall now conclude with this *Isabel Robey* who is now come to her triall.

This *Isabel Robey* Prisoner in the Castle at Lancaster being brought to the Barre before the great Seat of Iustice was there according to the former order and course Indicted and Arraigned, for that shee Felloniously had practised, exercised and vsed her Deuillish and wicked Artes called *Witchcrafts, Inchantments, Charmes and Sorceries.*

Vpon her Arraignment to this Indictment she pleaded not guiltie, and for the triall of her life, put her selfe vpon God and her Countreie.

So as now the Gentlemen of the Iurie of life and death stand charged with her as with others.

*The Euidence against Isabel Robey  
Prisoner at the Barre.*

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*The*

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*of Witches at Lancaster.*

**The Examination of PETER CHAD-**

*DOCK of Windle, in the Countie of Lancaster: Taken at  
Windle aforesaid, the 12. day of July 1612. Anno Reg.  
Regis IACOBI, Angliæ, &c. decimo; & Scotiæ xlv.*

Before

*Sir THOMAS GERRARD Knight, and Barronet. One  
of his Maieslies Iustices of the Peace within the said  
Countie.*

**T**He said Examine vpon his Oath saith, That be-  
fore his Marriage hee heard say that the said *Isabel  
Robey* was not pleased that hee should marrie his now  
wife: whereupon this Examine called the said *Isabel  
Witch*, and said that hee did not care for her. Then  
within two dayes next after this Examine was fore-  
pained in his bones: And this Examine hauing occasi-  
on to meete Master *John Harwarden* at Peaseley Crosse,  
wished one *Thomas Lyon* to goe thither with him,  
which they both did so; but as they came home-wards,  
they both were in euill case. But within a short time af-  
ter, this Examine and the said *Thomas Lyon* were both  
very well amended.

And this Examine further saith, that about foure  
yeares last past, his now wife was angrie with the said  
*Isabel*, shee then being in his house, and his said Wife  
thereupon went out of the house, and presently after  
that the said *Isabel* went likewise out of the house not  
well pleased, as this Examine then did thinke, and pre-  
sently after vpon the same day, this Examine with his  
said wife working in the Hay, a paine and a starknesse fell  
into the necke of this Examine which grieved him very

T 3

fore;

whereupon this Examinee sent to one *James* a Glouer, which then dwelt in Windle, and desired him to pray for him, and within foure or fve dayes next after this Examinee did mend very well. Neuerthelesse this Examinee during the same time was very sore pained, and so thirstie withall, and hot within his body, that hee would haue giuen any thing hee had, to haue slaked his thirst, hauing drinke enough in the house, and yet could not drinke vntill the time that the said *James* the Glouer came to him, and this Examinee then said before the said Glouer, I would to God that I could drinke, where upon the said Glouer said to this Examinee, take that drinke, and in the name of the *Father*, the *Sonne*, and the *Holy Ghost*, drinke it, saying; The Deuill and Witches are not able to preuaile against God and his Word, whereupon this Examinee then tooke the glasse of drinke, and did drinke it all, and afterwards mended very well, and so did continue in good health, vntill our Ladie day in Lent was twelue moneth or thereabouts, since which time this Examinee saith, that hee hath beene sore pained with great warch in his bones, and all his limmes, and so yet continueth, and this Examinee further saith, that his said warch and paine came to him rather by meanes of the said *Isabel Robey*, then otherwise, as he verily thinketh.

### *The Examination of IANE WILKIN-*

*SON, Wife of FRANCIS WILKINSON, of Windlea-  
foresaid: Taken before the said Sir THOMAS GER-  
RARD, Knight and Barronet, the day and place aforesaid.  
Against the said ISABEL ROBEY.*

**T**He said Examine vpon her oath saith, that vpon a  
time the said *Isabel Robey* asked her milke, and shee  
denied to giue her any : And afterwards shee met the  
said *Isabel*, whereupon this Examine waxed afraid of  
her, and was then presently sick, and so pained that shee  
could not stand; and the next day after this Examine  
going to Warrington, was suddenly pinched on her  
Thigh as shee thought, with foure fingers & a Thumbe  
twice together, and thereupon was lickte, in so much as  
shee could not get home but on horse-backe, yet soone  
after shee did mend.

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### *The Examination of MARGARET*

*LYON wife of THOMAS LYON the younger, of  
Windle aforesaid: Taken before the said Sir THOMAS  
GERRARD, Knight and Barronet, the day and place a-  
foresaid. Against the said ISABEL ROBEY.*

**T**He said *Margaret Lyon* vpon her Oath saith, that  
vpon a time *Isabel Robey* came into her house and  
said that *Peter Chaddock* should neuer mend vntill he had  
asked her forgiuenesse; and that shee knew hee would  
neuer doe : whereupon this Examine said, how doe  
you

*The Arraignement and Triall.*

you know that, for he is a true Christian, and hee would aske all the world forgiuenesse? then the said *Isabel* said, that is all one, for hee will neuer aske me forgiuenesse, therefore hee shall neuer mend; And this Examine further saith, that shee being in the house of the said *Peter Chaddock*, the wife of the said *Peter*, who is God-Daughter of the said *Isabel*, and hath in times past vsed her companie much, did affirme, that the said *Peter* was now satisfied, that the said *Isabel Robey* was no Witch, by sending to one *Halseworths*, which they call a wise-man, and the wife of the said *Peter* then said, to abide vpon it, I thinke that my Husband will neuer mend vntill hee haue asked her forgiuenesse, choose him whether hee will bee angrie or pleased, for this is my opinion: to which he answered, when he did need to aske her forgiuenesse, he would, but hee thought hee did not need, for any thing hee knew: and yet this Examine further saith, That the said *Peter Chaddock* had very often told her, that he was very afraid that the said *Isabel* had done him much hurt; and that he being fearefull to meete her, he hath turned backe at such time as he did meet her alone, which the said *Isabel* hath since then affirmed to be true, saying, that hee the said *Peter* did turne againe when he met her in the Lane.

*The*

*The Examination of MARGARET*

*PARRE wife of HUGH PARRE of Windle asforesaid.  
Taken before the said Sir THOMAS GERARD  
Knight and Baronet, the day and place asforesaid. Against  
the said ISABEL ROBey.*

**T**HE said Examinee vpon her oath saith, that vpon  
a time, the said *Isabel Robey* came to her house, and  
this Examinee asked her how *Peter Chaddock* did, And  
the said *Isabel* answered shee knew not, for shee went  
not to see, and then this Examinee asked her how  
*Jane Wilkinson* did, for that she had beene lately sicke and  
suspected to haue beene bewitched: then the said *Isabel*  
said twice together, I haue bewitched her too: and then  
this Examinee said that shee trusted shee could blesse  
her selfe from all Witches and defied them; and then  
the said *Isabel* said twice together, would you defie me? &  
afterwards the said *Isabel* went away not well pleased.

Here the Gentlemen of the last Iurie of Life and  
Death hauing taken great paines, the time being farre  
spent, and the number of the Prisoners great, returned  
into the Court to deliuer vp their Verdict against them  
as followeth. *viz.*

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*The Verdict of Life and  
Death.*

**W**HO vpon their Oathes found the said *Isabel Ro-  
bey* guiltie of the Fellonie by Witch-craft, con-  
tained

### *The Arraignement and Triall*

ained in the Indictment against her. And *Margaret Pearson* guiltie of the offence by Witch-craft, contained in the Indictment against her.

Whereupon *Malter Couell* was commaunded by the Court in the afternoone to bring forth all the Prisoners that stood Conuicted, to receiue their Iudgment of Life and Death.

For his Lordship now intended to proceed to a finall dispatch of the Pleas of the Crowne. And heere endeth the Arraignement and Triall of the Witches at Lancaster.

**T**HUS at the length haue we brought to perfection this intended Discouery of Witches, with the Arraignement and Triall of euery one of them in order, by the helpe of Almighty God, and this Reuerend Iudge; the Lanterne from whom I haue receiued light to direct me in this course to the end. And as in the beginning, I presented vnto their view a Kalender containing the names of all the witches: So now I shall present vnto you in the conclusion and end, such as stand conuicted, and come to the Barre to receiue the iudgment of the Law for their offences, and the proceedings of the Court against such as were acquitted, and found not guiltie: with the religious Exhortation of this Honorable Iudge, as eminent in gifts and graces as in place and preeminence, which I may lawfully affirme without base flattery (the canker of all honest and worthie minds) drew the eyes and reuerend respect of all that great Audience present, to heare their Iudgement, and the end of these proceedings.

*The*

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

*The Prisoners being brought to the Barre.*

**T**He Court commanded three solemne Proclamations for silence, vntill Iudgement for Life and Death were giuen.

Whereupon I presented to his Lordship the names of the Prisoners in order, which were now to receiue their Iudgement.

\* \*

¶ The names of the Prisoners at the  
*Barre to receiue their fudgement*  
of Life and Death.

*Anne Whittle, alias*  
*Chattox.*

*Elizabeth Denice.*

*James Denice.*

*Anne Redferne.*

*Alice Nutter.*

*Katherine Hewet.*

*John Bulcock.*

*Jane Bulcock.*

*Alizon Denice.*

*Isabel Robey.*

THE



# THE IVDGEMENT OF THE RIGHT HONORABLE

Sir EDVVARD BROMLEY, Knight, one  
of his Maiesties Iustices of Assize at Lan-  
caster vpon the Witches conuicted,  
as followeth.



Here is no man alie more unwilling to pro-  
nounce this wofull and heauy Iudgement a-  
gainst you, then my selfe: and if it were possi-  
ble, I would to God this cup might passe from  
me. But since it is otherwise provided, that af-  
ter all proceedings of the Law, there must be a Iudgement;  
and the Execution of that Iudgement must succeed and fol-  
low in due time: I pray you haue patience to receiue that which  
the Law doth lay vpon you. You of all people haue the least  
cause to complaine: since in the Triall of your lines there hath  
beene great care and paines taken, and much time spent: and  
very few or none of you, but stand conuicted vpon your owne  
voluntarie confessions and Examinations, Ex ore proprio:  
Few Witnesses examined against you, but such as were pre-  
sent, and parties in your Assemblies. Nay I may further  
affirme, What persons of your nature and condition, euer  
were Arraigned and Tried with more solemnitie, had more  
libertie giuen to pleade or answere to euerie particuler point  
of Euidence against you? In conclusion such hath beene the

### The Arraignement and Triall

generall care of all, that had to deal with you, that you haue neither cause to be offended in the proceedings of the Iustices, that first took paines in these businesses, nor with the Court that hath had great care to giue nothing in euidence against you, but matter of fact; Sufficient matter upon Record, and not to induce, or leade the Iurie to finde any one of you guilty upon matter of suspicion or presumption, nor with the witnesses who haue beene tried, as it were in the fire: Nay, you cannot denie but must confesse what extraordinarie meanes hath beene vsed to make triall of their euidence, and to discover the least intended practice in any one of them, to touch your liues vniustly.

As you stand simply (your offences and bloudie practises not considered) your fall would rather moue compassion, then exasperate any man. For whom would not the ruine of so many poore creatures at one time, touch, as in apparence simple, and of little understanding?

But the blood of those innocent children, and others his Maiesties Subiects, whom cruelly and barbarously you haue murdered, and cut off, with all the rest of your offences, hath cryed out vnto the Lord against you, and solicited for satisfaction and reuenge, and that hath brought this heauie iudgement vpon you at this time.

It is therefore now time no longer wilfully to strine, both against the prouidence of God, and the Iustice of the Land: the more you labour to acquit your selues, the more euident and apparant you make your offences to the World. And vnp- possible it is that they shall either prosper or continue in this World, or receiue reward in the next, that are stained with so much innocent blood.

The worst then I wish to you, standing at the Barre con- uicted, to receiue your Iudgement, is, Remorse, and true Re- pentance,

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

penitance, for the safegard of your Soules, and after, an humble, penitent, and heartie acknowledgement of your grievous sinnes and offences committed both against GOD and Man.

First, yeeld humble and heartie thanks to Almighty GOD for taking hold of you in your beginning, and making stay of your intended bloudie practises (although GOD knowes there is too much done already) which would in time have cast so great a weight of Iudgement upon your Soules.

Then praise GOD that it pleased him not to surprize or strike you suddenly, even in the execution of your bloudie Murthers, and in the midst of your wicked practises, but hath given you time, and takes you away by a iudiciall course and triall of the Law.

Last of all, craue pardon of the World, and especially of all (such as you have iustly offended, either by tormenting themselves, children, or friends, murder of their kinsfolks, or losse of any their goods.

And for leauing to future times the president of so many barbarous and bloudie murders, with such meetings, practises, consultations, and meanes to execute reuenge, being the greatest part of your comfort in all your actions, which may instruct others to hold the like course, or fall in the like sort:

It only remaines I pronounce the Iudgement of the Court against you by the Kings authoritie, which is; You shall all goe from hence to the Castle, from whence you came; from thence you shall bee carried to the place of Execution for this Countie: where your bodies shall bee hanged untill you be dead; And GOD HAVE MERCIE VPON YOUR SOULES: For your comfort in this world I shall commend a learned and worthie Preacher—

*The Arraignement and Triall*

to instruct you, and prepare you for an other World: All I can doe for you is to pray for your Repentance in this World, for the satisfaction of many; And forgiuenesse in the next world, for sauing of your Soules. And God graunt you may make good vse of the time you haue in this World, to his glorie and your owne comfort.

*Margaret Pearson.*

**T**He Iudgement of the Court against you, is, You shall stand vpon the Pillarie in open Market, at *Clietheroe, Paddiham, Whalley, and Lancaster*, foure Market dayes, with a Paper vpon your head, in great Letters, declaring your offence, and there you shall confesse your offence, and after to remaine in Prison for one yeare without Baile, and after to be bound with good Suerties, to be of the good behaiour.

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To

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of Witches at Lancaster.

To the Prisoners found not guiltie  
by the Iuries.

Elizabeth Astley.

John Ramsden.

Alice Gray.

Isabel Sidegraues.

Lawrence Hay.



O you that are found not guiltie, and are by the Law to bee acquitted, presume no further of your Innocencie then you haue iust cause: for although it pleased God out of his Mercie, to spare you at this time, yet without question there are amongst you, that are as deepe in this Action, as any of them that are condemned to die for their offences: The time is now for you to forsake the Deuill: Remember how, and in what sort hee hath dealt with all of you: make good vse of this great mercie and fauour: and pray vnto God you fall not againe: For great is your happinesse to haue time in this World, to prepare your selues against the day when you shall appeare before the Great Iudge of all.

Notwithstanding, the iudgement of the Court, is, You shall all enter Recognizances with good sufficient Suerities, to appeare at the next Assizes at Lancaster, and in the meane time to be of the good behauiour. All I can say to you:

X

Jennet

*The Arraignement and Triall*

*Jennet Bierley,*

*Ellen Bierley,*

*Jane Southworth,* is, That God

hath deliuered you beyond expectation, I pray God you may vse this mercie and fauour well; and take heed you fall not hereafter: And so the Court doth order you shall be deliuered.

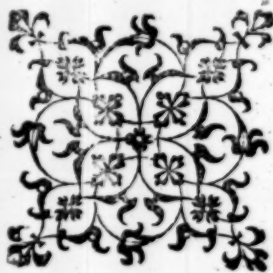
What more can bee written or published of the proceedings of this honorable Court: but to conclude with the Execution of the Witches, who were executed the next day following at the common place of Execution, neare vnto Lancaster. Yet in the end giue mee leaue to intreate some fauour that haue bene afraid to speake vntill my worke were finished. If I haue omitted any thing materiall, or published any thing imperfect, excuse me for that I haue done: It was a worke imposed vpon me by the Iudges, in respect I was so wel instructed in euery particular. In hast I haue vndertaken to finish it in a bulie Tearme amongst my other imployments.

My charge was to publish the proceedings of Iustice, and matter of Fact, wherein I wanted libertie to write what I would, and am limited to set forth nothing against them, but matter vpon Record, euen in their owne Countrie tearmes, which may seeme strange. And this I hope will giue good satisfaction to such as vnderstand how to iudge of a businesse of this nature. Such as haue no other imployment but to question other mens Actions, I leaue them to censure what they please, It is no part of my profession to publish any thing in  
print.

*of Witches at Lancaster.*

print, neither can I paint in extraordinarie tearmes. But  
if this discouerie may serue for your instruction, I shall  
thinke my selfe very happie in this Seruice, and so leaue  
it to your generall censure.

*Da veniam Ignoto non displicuisse meretur,  
Festinat studijs qui placuisse tibi.*





THE  
ARRAIGNEMENT  
AND TRIALL OF  
JENNET PRESTON, OF  
GISBORNE IN CRAVEN,  
in the Countie of Yorke.

At the Assises and Generall Gaole-  
*Deliverie holden at the Castle of Yorke*  
in the Countie of Yorke, the xxvij. day of  
Iuly last past, *Anno Regni Regis IACOBI*  
*Anglia, &c. Decimo, & Scotia*  
*quadragesimo quinto.*

Before  
Sir JAMES ALTHAM Knight, one  
of the Barons of his Maiesties Court of Exchequer;  
and Sir EDVVARD BROMLEY Knight, another of  
*the Barons of his Maiesties Court of Exchequer,*  
his Maiesties Iustices of Assise, Oyer and Terminer,  
*and generall Gaole-Deliverie, in the Circuit*  
*of the North-parts.*



LONDON,  
Printed by W. STANSBY for IOHN BARNES, and  
are to be sold at his Shoppe neere Hol-  
borne Conduit. 1612.

THE  
TENTH



## THE ARRAIGNMENT

### *and Triall of IENNET PRES-*

*TON of Gisborne in Crauen, in the Countie of Yorke, at the Assises and Generall Gaole-deliverie, holden at the Castle of Yorke, in the Countie of Yorke, the seven and twentieth day of Iuly last past. Anno Regni Regis Iacobi Angliæ &c. Decimo & Scotiæ xivj.*

### *Jennet Preston.*



ANY haue vndertaken to write great discourses of Witches and many more dispute and speake of them. And it were not much if as many wrote of them as could write at al, to set forth to the world the particular Rites and Secrets of their vnlawfull Artes, with their infinite and wonderfull practises which many men little feare till they seize vpon them. As by this late wonderfull discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster may appeare, wherein I find such apparant matter to satisfie the World, how dangerous and malicious a Witch

*The Arraignement and Triall*

Witch this *Jennet Preston* was, How vnfit to liue, ha-  
uing once so great mercie extended to her: And againe  
to reuiue her practises, and returne to her former course  
of life, that I thinke it necessarie not to let the memo-  
rie of her life and death die with her; But to place her  
next to her fellowes and to set forth the Arraignement  
Triall and Conuiction of her, with her offences for  
which she was condemned and executed.

And although shee died for her offence before the  
rest, I yet can afford her no better place then in the end  
of this Booke in respect the proceedings was in an other  
Countie;

You that were husband to this *Jennet Preston*;  
her friends and kinsfolkes, who haue not beene sparing  
to deuise so scandalous a slander out of the malice of  
your hearts, as that shee was maliciously prosecuted by  
Master *Lister* and others; Her life vniustly taken away  
by practise; and that (euen at the Gallowes where shee  
died impenitent and void of all feare or grace) shee died  
an Innocent woman, because she would confesse no-  
thing: You I say may not hold it strange, though at  
this time, being not only moued in conscience, but di-  
rected, for example sake, with that which I haue to re-  
port of her, I suffer you not to wander any further; but  
with this short discourse oppose your idle conceits a-  
ble to seduce others: And by Charmes of Imputations  
and slander, laid vpon the Iustice of the Land, to cleare  
her that was iustly condemned and executed for her of-  
fence; That this *Jennet Preston* was for many yeares  
well thought of and esteemed by Master *Lister* who  
afterwardes died for it. Had free access to his house,  
kind respect and entertainment; nothing denied her she  
stood

stood in need of. Which of you that dwelleth neare them in Crauen but can and will witnesse it? which might haue encouraged a Woman of any good condition to haue runne a better course.

The fauour and goodnesse of this Gentleman Master *Lister* now liuing, at his first entrance after the death of his Father extended towards her, and the reliefe she had at all times, with many other fauours that succeeded from time to time, are so palpable and euident to all men as no man can denie them. These were sufficient motiues to haue perswaded her from the murder of so good a friend.

But such was her execrable Ingratitude, as euen this grace and goodnesse was the cause of his miserable and vntimely death. And euen in the beginning of his greatest fauours extended to her, began shee to worke this mischief, according to the course of all Witches.

This *Jennet Preston*, whose Arraignment and Triall, with the particular Euidence against her I am now to set forth vnto you, one that liued at Gisborne in Crauen, in the Countie of Yorke, neare Master *Lister* of Westbie, against whom she practised much mischief, for hauing cut off *Thomas Lister* Esquire, father to this gentleman now liuing, shee reuenged her selfe vpon his sonne: who in short time receiued great losse in his goods and cattell by her meanes.

These things in time did beget suspition, and at the Assizes and Generall Gaole deliuerie holden at the Castle of Yorke in Lent last past, before my Lord *Bromley*, shee was Indicted and Arraigned for the murder of a Child of one *Dodgsonnes*, but by the fauour and mercifull consideration of the Iurie thereof acquitted:

Y

But

### *The Arraignement and Triall*

But this fauour and mercie was no sooner extended towards her, and shee set at libertie, But shee began to practise the vtter ruine and ouerthrow of the name and bloud of this Gentleman.

And the better to execute her mischiefe and wicked intent, within foure dayes after her deliuerance out of the Castle at Yorke, went to the great Assembly of Witches at *Malking-Tower* vpon Good-friday last: to pray aide and helpe, for the murder of Master *Lister*, in respect he had prosecuted against her at the same Assizes.

Which it pleased God in his mercie to discouer, and in the end, howsoeuer he had blinded her, as he did the King of *Ægypt* and his Instruments, for the brighter euidence of his own powerfull glory; Yet by a Iudiciall course and triall of the Law, cut her off, and so deliuered his people from the danger of her Deuillish and wicked practises: which you shall heare against her, at her Arraignement and Triall, which I shall now set forth to you in order as it was performed, with the wonderfull signes and tokens of God, to satisfie the Iurie to finde her guiltie of this bloudie murther, committed foure yeares since.

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In-

## Indictment.

**T**His *Jennet Preston* being Prisoner in the Castle at Yorke, and indicted, for that shee feloniously had practised, vsed, and exercised diuerse wicked and deuillish Arts, called Witchcrafts, Inchauntments, Charmes, and Sorceries, in and vpon one *Thomas Lister* of Westby in Crauen, in the Countie of Yorke Esquire, and by force of the same Witchcraft feloniously the said *Thomas Lister* had killed, *Contra Pacem &c.* beeing at the Barre, was arraigned.

To this Indictment vpon her Arraignement, shee pleaded not guiltie, and for the Triall of her life put her selfe vpon **G O D** and her Countrey.

Whereupon my Lord *Altham* commaunded Master Sheriffe of the Countie of Yorke, in open Court to returne a Iurie of sufficient Gentlemen of vnderstanding, to passe betweene our Soueraigne Lord the Kings Majestie and her, and others the Prisoners, vpon their liues and deaths; who were afterwards sworne, according to the forme and order of the Court, the prisoner being admitted to her lawfull challenge.

Which being done, and the Prisoner at the Barre to receiue her Tryall, Master *Heyber*, one of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace in the same County, hauing taken great paines in the proceedings against her; and being best instructed of any man of all the particular points of Euidence against her, humbly prayed, the witnesses hereafter following might be examined against her, and the seuerall Examinations, taken before Master *Nowel*, and certified, might openly bee published against her; which hereafter follow in order, *viz.*

*The Euidence for the Kings Maiestie*

Against

JENNET PRESTON, *Prisoner at the Barre.*

**H**ereupon were diuerſe Examinations taken and read openly againſt her, to induce and ſatiſfie the Gentlemen of the Iurie of Life and Death, to finde ſhe was a Witch; and many other circumſtances for the death of M. *Liſter*. In the end *Anne Robinſon* and others were both examined, who vpon their Oathes declared againſt her, That M. *Liſter* lying in great extremitie, vpon his death-bedde, cried out vnto them that ſtood about him; that *Jennet Preſton* was in the houſe, looke where ſhee is, take hold of her: for Gods ſake ſhut the doores, and take her, ſhee cannot eſcape away. Looke about for her, and lay hold on her, for ſhee is in the houſe: and ſo cryed very often in his great paines, to them that came to viſit him during his ſickeſſe.

*Anne Robinſon,*

and

*Thomas Liſter*

Being examined further, they both gaue this in euidence againſt her, That when Maſter *Liſter* lay vpon his death-bedde, hee cryed out in great extremitie; *Jennet Preſton* lyes heaue vpon me, *Preſtons* wife lyes heaue vpon me; helpe me, helpe me: and ſo departed, crying out againſt her.

THESE

These, with many other witnesses, were further examined, and deposed, That *Jennet Preston*, the Prisoner at the Barre, being brought to *M. Lister* after hee was dead, & layd out to be wound vp in his winding-sheer, the said *Jennet Preston* comming to touch the dead corpes, they bled fresh blood presently, in the presence of all that were there present: Which hath euer beene held a great argument to induce a Iurie to hold him guiltie that shall be accused of Murther, and hath seldome, or neuer, fayled in the Tryall.

But these were not alone: for this wicked and bloud-thirstie Witch was no sooner deliuered at the Assises holden at Yorke in Lent last past, being indicted, arraigned, and by the fauor and mercie of the Iurie found not guiltie, for the murther of a Child by Witch-craft: but vpon the Friday following, beeing Good-Friday, shee rode in hast to the great meeting at Malking-Tower, and there prayed aide for the murther of *M. Thomas Lister*: as at large shall appeare, by the seuerall Examinations hereafter following; sent to these Assises from Master *Novel* and other his Majesties Iustices of Peace in the Countie of Lancaster, to be giuen in euidence against her, vpon her Triall, viz.

*The Arraignement and Triall*

*The Examination and Euidence of*

*JAMES DEVICE, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, Labourer, taken at the house of JAMES WILSEY, of the Forrest of Pendle in the Countie of Lancaster, the seven and twentieth day of Aprill, ANNO Reg. Regis IACOBI Anglia, &c. Decimo ac Scotiæ quadragesimo quinto.*

Before

*ROGER NOVEL, and NICHOLAS BANE-  
STER, Esquires, two of his Maiesties Iustices of the Peace  
within the Countie of Lancaster, viz.*

**T**HIS Examinee saith, That vpon Good-Friday last about twelue of the clocke in the day-time, there dined in this Examinees said mothers house a number of persons, whereof three were men, with this Examinee, and the rest women: and that they met there for these three causes following (as this Examinees said mother told this Examinee): First was for the naming of the Spirit, which *Alizon Devise*, now Prisoner at Lancaster, had, but did not name him, because shee was not there. The second cause was for the deliuey of his said Grand-mother, this Examinees said sister *Alizon*, the said *Anne Chattox*, and her daughter *Redferne*: Killing the Gadler at Lancaster; and before the next Assizes to blow vp the Castle there; to that end the aforesaid Prisoners might by that meanes make an escape and get away. All which this Examinee then heard them conferre of. And the third cause was, for that there was a woman dwelling in Gisburne Parish, who came into this Examinees said Grand-mothers house,

*of Witches at Yorke.*

house, who there came, and craued assistance of the rest of them that were then there, for the killing of Master *Lister* of Westby: because, as she then said, he had borne malice vnto her, and had thought to haue put her away at the last Assizes at Yorke; but could not. And then this Examinat heard the said woman say, that her power was not strong enough to doe it her selfe, being now lesse then before-time it had beene.

And he also further saith, That the said *Prestons* wife had a Spirit with her like vnto a white Foale, with a blacke-spot in the forehead. And further, this Examinat saith, That since the said meeting, as aforesaid, this Examine hath beene brought to the wife of one *Preston* in Gislburne Parish aforesaid, by *Henry Hargreines* of Goldsney, to see whether shee was the woman that came amongst the said Witches, on the said last Good-Friday, to craue their aide and assistance for the killing of the said Master *Lister*: and hauing had full view of her; hee this Examine confesseth, That she was the selfe-same woman which came amongst the said Witches on the said last Good-Friday, for their aide for the killing of the said Master *Lister*; and that brought the Spirit with her, in the shape of a White Foale, as aforesaid.

And this Examine further saith, That all the said Witches went out of the said house in their owne shapes and likenesses, and they all, by that they were forth of the doores, were gotten on horse-backe like vnto Foales, some of one colour, some of another, and *Prestons* wife was the last; and when she got on horse-backe, they all presently vanished out of this Examinats sight: and before their said parting away, they all appointed to meete at the said *Prestons* wifes house that day

*The Arraignement and Trial*

day twelue-month; at which time the said *Prestons* wife promised to make them a great feast; and if they had occasion to meet in the meane time, then should warning bee giuen that they all should meete vpon Romles-Moore. And this Examine further saith, That at the said feast at Malking-Tower, this Examinat heard them all giue their consents to put the said Master *Thomas Lister* of Westby to death: and after Master *Lister* should be made away by Witchcraft, then al the said Witches gaue their consents to ioyne altogether to hancke Master *Leonard Lister*, when he should come to dwell at the Sowgill, and so put him to death.

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*The Examination of* HENRIE HARGREIVES *of Goldshey-booth, in the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster Yeoman, taken the fifth day of May, Anno Reg. Regis IACOBI Angliæ, &c. Decimo, ac Scociæ quadragesimo quinto.*

Before

ROGER NOVVEL, NICHOLAS BANNESTER,  
and ROBERT HOLDEN, *Esquires*; three of his  
*Maiesties Iustices of Peace within the said Countie.*

**T**HIS Examinat vpon his oath saith, That *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, confessed vnto him, that she knoweth one *Prestons* wife neere Gisburne, and that the said *Prestons* wife should haue beene at the said feast, vpon the said Good-Friday, and that shee was an ill woman, and had done Master *Lister* of Westby great hurt.

— The

*The Examination of* **ELIZABETH**

*DEVICE, mother of JAMES DEVICE, taken before  
ROGER NOVVEL and NICHOLAS BANESTER,  
Esquires, the day and yeare aforesaid, viz.*

**T**He said *Elizabeth Devise* vpon her Examination confessed, That vpon Good-Friday last, there dined at this Examinats house, which she hath said are Witches, and doth verily thinke them to be Witches; and their names are those whom *James Devise* hath formerly spoken of to be there.

She also confesseth in all things touching the killing of Master *Lister* of Westby, as the said *James Devise* hath before confessed.

And the said *Elizabeth Devise* also further saith, That at the said meeting at Malking-Tower, as aforesaid, the said *Katherine Hewyt* and *Iohn Bulcock*, with all the rest then there, gaue their consents, with the said *Prestons* wife, for the killing of the said Master *Lister*. And for the killing of the said Master *Leonard Lister*, she this Examinee saith in all things, as the said *James Devise* hath before confessed in his Examination.

**The Examination of IENNET DE-  
VICE,** daughter of ELIZABETH late wife of IOHN  
DEVICKE, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lan-  
caster, about the age of nine yeares or thereabouts, taken  
the day and yeare above-said:

Before

ROGER NOWEL and NICHOLAS BAN-  
STER, Esquires, two of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace in  
the Countie of Lancaster.

**T**He said Examinee vpon her Examination saith,  
that vpon Good-friday last there was about twenty  
persons, whereof only two were men, to this Examinats  
remembrance, at her said Grand-mothers house, called  
Malking-Tower aforesaid, about twelue of the clocke:  
all which persons, this Examinates said mother  
told her were Witches, and that she know-  
eth the names of diuers of the said  
Witches.

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After

**A**fter all these Examinations, Confessions, and Evidence, deliuered in open Court against her, His Lordship commanded the Iurie to obserue the particular circumstances; first, Master *Lisser* in his great extremitie, to complaine hee saw her, and requested them that were by him to lay hold on her.

After he cried out shee lay heauie vpon him, even at the time of his death.

But the Conclusion is of more consequence then all the rest, that *Jennet Preston* being brought to the dead corps, they bled freshly, And after her deliuerance in Lent, it is proued shee rode vpon a white Foale, and was present in the great assembly at *Malkin Tower* with the Witches, to intreat and pray for aide of them, to kill Master *Lisser*, now liuing, for that he had prosecuted against her.

And against these people you may not expect such direct evidence, since all their workes are the workes of darkenesse, no witnesses are present to accuse them, therefore I pray God direct your consciences.

After the Gentlemen of the Iurie of Life and Death had spent the most part of the day, in consideration of the evidence against her, they returned into the Court and deliuered vp their Verdict of Life and Death.

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The Verdict of Life and  
Death.

**W**Ho found *Jennet Preston* guiltie of the felonie  
and murder by Witch-craft of *Thomas Lister*,  
Esquire; conteyned in the Indictment against her, &c.

Afterwards, according to the course and order of the  
Lawes, his Lordship pronounced Iudgement against  
her to bee hanged for her offence. And so the Court a-  
rose.

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**H**ere was the wonderfull discouerie of this *Jen-  
net Preston*, who for so many yeares had liued  
at Gisborne in Crauen, neare Master *Lister*;  
one thing more I shall adde to all these par-  
ticular Examinations, and euidence of witnessses, which  
I saw, and was present in the Court at Lancaster, when  
it was done at the Assizes holden in August following.

My Lord *Bromley* being very suspicious of the accu-  
sation of *Jennet Denice*, the little Wench, commanded  
her to looke vpon the Prisoners that were present, and  
declare which of them were present at *Malkin-Tower*,  
at the great assembly of Witches vpon Good-Friday  
last: shee looked vpon and tooke many by the handes,  
and accused them to be there, and when shee had accu-  
sed all that were there present, shee told his Lordship  
there was a Woman that came out of Crauen that was  
amongst

amongst the Witches at that Feast, but shee saw her not amongst the Prisoners at the Barre.

What a singular note was this of a Child, amongst many to misse her, that before that time was hanged for her offence, which shee would neuer confesse or declare at her death? here was present old *Preston* her husband, who then cried out and went away: being fully satisfied his wife had Iustice, and was worthie of death.

To conclude then this present discourse, I heartilie desire you, my louing Friends and Countrie-men, for whose particular instructions this is added to the former of the wonderfull discouerie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster: And for whose particular satisfaction this is published; Awake in time, and suffer not your selues to be thus assaulted.

Consider how barbarously this Gentleman hath been dealt withall; and especially you that hereafter shall passe vpon any Iuries of Life and Death, let not your conuience, or rather foolish pittie, spare such as these, to exequate farther mischief.

Remember that shee was no sooner set at libertie, but shee plotted the ruine and ouerthrow of this Gentleman, and his whole Familie.

Expect not, as this reuerend and learned Iudge saith, such apparent prooffe against them, as against others, since all their workes, are the workes of darkenesse: and vnlesse it please Almighty God to raise witnesses to accuse them, who is able to condemne them?

Forget not the bloud that cries out vnto God for reuenge, bring it not vpon your owne heads.

Neither doe I vrge this any farther, then with this, that I would alwaies intreat you to remember, that it is

*The Arraignement and Triall*

as great a crime (as Salomon sayth, *Prov. 17*) to con-  
demne the innocent, as to let the guiltie escape free.

Looke not vpon things strangely, alledged, but iudici-  
ously consider what is justly proued against them.

And that as well all you that were witnesses, present  
at the Arraignement and Triall of her, as all other stran-  
gers, to whome this Discourse shall come, may take ex-  
ample by this Gentleman to prosecute these hellish  
Furies to their end: labor to root them out of the Com-  
monwealth, for the common good of your Countrey.  
The greatest mercie extended to them, is soone for-  
gotten.

God graunt vs the long and prosperous continu-  
ance of these Honorable and Reuerend Iudges, vnder  
whose Government we liue in these North parts: for  
we may say, that God Almighty hath singled them  
out, and set them on his Seat, for the defence of Iu-  
stice.

And for this great deliuerance, let vs all pray to  
God Almighty, that the memorie of  
these worthie Iudges may bee  
blessed to all Poste-  
rities.

*FINIS.*

